THE SISTER ARTS:

Fashioning the Victorian Luxury Book

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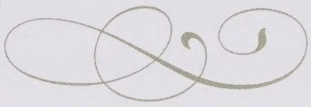

Exhibition and Catalogue

by

Holly Forsythe Paul

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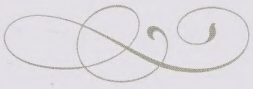

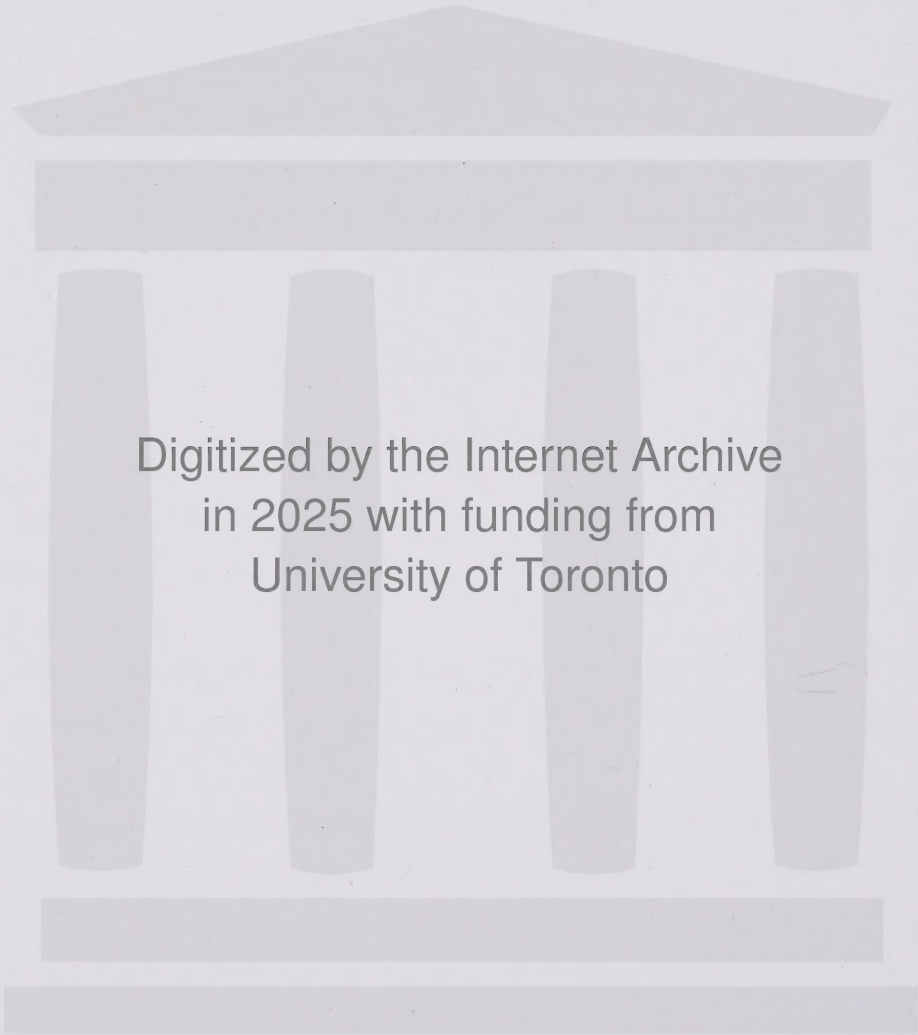
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THE SISTER ARTS: FASHIONING THE VICTORIAN LUXURY BOOK

Although the expansion of literacy and the emergence of a national readership have justly been the focus of many classic studies of Victorian book production, the long nineteenth century (1789–1914) was also a period in which technologies proliferated to make books into beautiful objects. Outside of the dominant market for novels and non-fiction, a wide variety of illustrated, decorative, and commemorative books was produced for an audience of fashionable female connoisseurs. Typically, these gift books combined illustration with verse, uniting the 'sister arts' of painting and poetry. As Lorraine Janzen Kooistra observes, Victorian illustrated periodicals popularised this sororal trope on their covers as 'two female figures, one with a pen and one with a brush', habitually feminising the combination of genres.[1] If Victorian luxury books were made for women, they were also more likely to be created and manufactured by women as the decades passed. Inspired by women hobbyists, and focused on a female market, the luxury book trade was much more accessible to women labourers than the mainstream book industry. Whereas the fiction and periodical presses reserved select roles for women writers, luxury book manufacture came to provide positions for women in the book arts, initiating a sisterhood of illustrators, illuminators, engravers, designers, compositors, binders, and even publishers. The manufacture of these beautiful books provided women with the opportunity to adopt a range of professional roles in the book world.

A variety of technological, aesthetic, cultural, and professional factors influenced the role of women in luxury book production. As technology developed, new

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fields of expression and employment became open to women. Chromolithography, for example, enabled the production of accurate facsimiles of medieval manuscripts, stimulating emerging design principles by expanding access to traditional composition and layout aesthetics. The Design Reform movement, meanwhile, systematised aesthetics in a curriculum used at British Government Schools of Design to train women in industrial decoration. Similarly, the values of the Arts and Crafts movement prompted crucial cultural and professional changes. Inspired by medieval art and idealising pre-Industrial modes of labour, the Arts and Crafts movement placed high value on handicrafts traditionally associated with women's work. Its members established independent workshops using archaic equipment that fell outside of strict union controls. This more inclusive environment gave women employment in presses that made luxury books. In a scaled-down network, individuals could make a difference: Emery Walker (1851–1933), William Morris (1834–1896), and Elizabeth Corbet Yeats (1868–1940) each made individual contributions that had a significant impact on women's access to work in the book trades. Indeed, in small circles where personal connections mattered, artists such as Esther Faithfull Fleet (1823–1908), Christina Rossetti (1830–1894), Clemence Housman (1861–1955), Elizabeth Yeats, and Mrs Pine (fl. 1890–1896) found an opportunity to work alongside their siblings, signifying the idea of the 'sister arts' in an unexpectedly literal way. As Emily Faithfull (1835–1895) discovered in her efforts to train women compositors, the printing trade unions actively resisted women laborers in factory settings, but the intimate scale of workshops that made luxury books enabled women to break into the printing professions.

As the Art Nouveau movement emerged in the 1890s, the luxury book was produced in limited editions for an exclusive audience of sophisticated collectors. Women consumers who prized the work of Charles Ricketts (1866–1931) and Aubrey Beardsley (1872–1898) were taken seriously as intellectuals and connoisseurs. No longer concerned to appeal to the bourgeois mass market, artists and book designers could challenge moral and social conventions. The popular figure of the 'New Woman', a feminist, independent, educated embodiment of emancipation, lurks just beneath the surface of works that push the limits of social decorum or that provide barely veiled images of Victorian dress reform. As the twentieth century began, more women with formal training entered the book trades, producing first-rate work in all aspects of book

production. Mentored by members of the luxury book industry, some women even ran their own publishing houses.

Looking back to the genres that had informed the production of these deluxe and limited editions, it seems fitting that women would find their place in the book world through the luxury book. The decorative and curatorial practices of women hobbyists had a foundational influence on emerging ideas of book design and illustration in the nineteenth century. Artistic and bibliophilic practices had traditionally been the province of men, but from the start of the nineteenth century, a variety of manuals explicitly addressed a female audience, providing instruction in the arts and the book arts that was inaccessible to women through apprenticeships or institutions. The design of early luxury books imitated the combination of graphics and text that women had developed in ladies' albums, a popular and sociable hobby in which women displayed a variety of handicrafts and artistic practices along with souvenirs and transcriptions. Using an aesthetic indebted to women's handicrafts, the early Victorian gift book introduced a vast amount of illustration to a mass female audience, training women amateurs in graphics and illustration.

The Sister Arts traces the changing but always central role of women in the luxury book trade, from the early nineteenth century until the onset of the First World War. Within the context of Owen Jones's articulation of Design Reform principles and the Pre-Raphaelites' transformative impact on book design, the exhibition begins by exploring the increasing professional opportunities for women illuminators, illustrators, and engravers at mid-century, as more manuals addressed a female audience and more art schools accepted female students. Cases are organised chronologically and according to method of production (such as chromolithography, manuscript, and wood engraving), tracing artistic influences, uncovering professional networks, and exploring the changing technologies used to make luxury books over the decades. The work of women book makers is displayed alongside landmark achievements of their male colleagues, in order to reveal personal interconnections and to contextualise individual accomplishments among those of canonical figures. The upstairs displays reveal that, as fashions in the luxury book market moved from chromolithography to manuscript illumination, or from wood engraving to hand-press folios, women found their way into an increasing number of professional roles. The

downstairs exhibition area looks back to the first half of the century, when the dominant influence of women on the content of luxury books was established despite their amateur status in the book world. These displays begin with hobbyist practices such as *extra illustration* and album curation, and survey the influence of art manuals and books on the 'language of flowers', before moving to steel-engraved annuals and gift books. Drawing exclusively from materials in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, the exhibition is designed to highlight the rich holdings of nineteenth-century luxury books in the Brabant, Delury, Endicott, Morris, Pantazzi, Tennyson, manuscript, and general collections.

Section I

SKILLED EMPLOYMENT: INCLUDING WOMEN IN THE BOOK TRADES

Starting at mid-century, social and technological changes led to new professional opportunities for women in the book trades. Gendered art schools and gender-segregated Government Schools of Design began to deliver a Design Reform curriculum to large classes of women. Along with some sympathetic male allies, women who had financial and personal autonomy established groups promoting women's right to employment as part of a suffragist platform, creating work places for women that included printing shops and binderies. At small luxury presses, individual relationships mattered, and exceptions could be made to include talented female artists. As a result, some Victorian women became accomplished illuminators, illustrators, engravers, designers, and publishers, producing books as beautiful as those made by their male counterparts in a period that was something of a golden age for the fine press.

Case 1: *Owen Jones (1809–1874)*

The enormous impact of architect Owen Jones on design theory and book production began with his research on the polychromy of ancient buildings during a Grand Tour in 1832 that took him from Cairo and Istanbul to Granada, where he explored the Islamic architecture of the Alhambra, particularly its use of geometry and flat colour.[2] In order to articulate his study of colour theory in *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra* (1836–1842 and 1842–1845), Jones developed the emerging techniques of colour printing using lithography. Johann Alois Senefelder (1771–1834) had invented this planographic method of printing that applies greasy, acid-resistant ink to a smooth stone, and experimentation using colour began soon after lithography was first used in a publication (1796), but *The Alhambra* was the first significant work to use chromolithography.[3] The success of *The Alhambra* was the foundation of Jones's reputation as a designer and design theorist. His advances in chromolithography would inspire new experiments in printed colour design and enable facsimile reproductions of artworks for dissemination to a mass audience for the first time.

In the 1840s, Owen Jones began collaborating with Henry Cole (1808–1882), a champion of the Design Reform movement who would become the first director of the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum). Central principles of Design Reform included a rejection of naturalism, the reduction of indiscriminate ornamentation, and a respect for form and function in decoration and materials. Jones sought to educate British taste according to Design Reform principles: modern interior design would reflect its architectural space and its machine production, rather than imitating nature or an earlier culture. Embracing a sense of British technological and imperial dominance, Design Reform sought to systematise the aesthetic principles used to train industrial designers.

[1] Owen Jones. *The Grammar of Ornament*. London: Day and Son, 1856.

A series of lectures which Owen Jones delivered to the Government School of Design (now the Royal College of Art) provided the foundation for his magnum opus, *The Grammar of Ornament*. *The Grammar* consists of nineteen chapters of chromolithographed plates, each exploring a different regional or historical tradition of design, with a twentieth chapter on forms in nature. Jones provides one hundred plates of chromolithographed ornaments (2,350 separate designs), many with seven or eight colours, in an effort to instill design principles through repetition. Although Jones drew inspiration from diverse traditions, he was eager to dissuade students from simply copying models and examples. Rejecting imitative styles such as chinoiserie, neo-Classicism, or Gothic revival, Jones wrote that the 'principles discoverable in the works of the past belong to us; not so the results. It is taking the end for the means'.[4] Many of the ornaments derive from Jones's travels but they are abstracted from their architectural context; although Jones credits their sources, they appear as pure form. The effect is an expression of conventionalised design as advocated by Design Reform, wherein natural objects were reduced to flat shapes and basic geometric forms, then arranged in repeating patterns. *The Grammar of Ornament* is both a primer and a museum of graphic design within a folio.

The collection is prefaced with Jones's theory of design, expressed in thirty-seven 'general principles in the arrangement of form and colour in architecture and the decorative arts'. As a 'grammar', Jones's work is concerned with providing rules that structure the relationships between elements. For instance, as Patricia Zakreski observes, the conventionalisation of natural forms meant that successful pattern makers were perceived as 'correctly trained observer[s]' in the 'botanical laws' of 'radiation, alternation, repetition, and symmetry'.[5] These principles, or 'propositions', differentiated the practice of design from the higher arts. The highly systematised approach of Design Reform distinguished the industrial designer from the Romantic conception of the inspired genius: a humbling distinction that generated wider acceptance of women trained to work as decorative artisans, designing textiles, wallpaper, and ceramics. Jones domesticated design into a tamer field than painting or sculpture, one that was more appropriate to Victorian conventions of femininity.

As Nicholas Frankel reports, *The Grammar* was adopted as 'official credo by the design establishment of mid-Victorian Britain'.[6] It was a major influence on the Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau movements and continues to be a reference for art historians and architects. Running on a curriculum largely derived from Jones's principles, the Government Schools of Design that expanded across the United Kingdom (to a network of one hundred and fifty schools by the end of the century) were increasingly associated with female labour.[7] Although Jones did not address a female reader in *The Grammar of Ornament*, his principles were developed by arts educators such as Henry Cole, Richard Redgrave (1804–1888) and Lewis Foreman Day (1845–1910) into a programme of lessons that were widely taught to women in gendered art schools, such as the Royal Female School of Art.[8] In this respect, the artistic principles Jones articulates in *The Grammar* laid the foundation for the design training of hundreds of women illustrators like Kate Greenaway (1846–1901) and Helen Allingham (1848–1926), as well as engravers such as Clemence Housman.

Case 2: *Illumination Manuals*

Victorian manuals on illumination provide insight into the cultural history of art education. Instructional books about art tend to appeal to amateur readers outside of formal institutions (which would provide lessons in a studio) and, so, were often written with an audience of women or the labouring classes in mind. Although they are not necessarily luxury books, instructional manuals on the book arts provide insight into the people who developed the special skills needed to make them.

[2] Henry Noel Humphreys (1810–1879). *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1844–1849.

Owen Jones made the chromolithographed plates for this volume, which was written and illustrated by Henry Noel Humphreys, a writer, natural historian, antiquarian, numismatist, and illustrator who edited magazines such as *The Ladies' Companion*. Despite Humphreys's association with light reading, *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* is a work of serious research and broad scope. Humphreys draws on visits to collections in Vienna, Copenhagen, Moscow, and Madrid as well as more familiar Italian, French, and British sources; he covers both secular and religious works. *Illuminated Books* also provides an annotated list of 463 manuscripts, listing their library locations. Jones's advances in chromolithography allowed Humphreys to print a book with the vividness of colour that was typical of medieval manuscripts, and the fluidity of the process was well adapted to making facsimiles of entire pages. In this way, *Illuminated Books* is able to demonstrate the relationships between lettering, capitals, illustrations, and decorative borders in the manuscript tradition. Unlike some other Victorian advocates of the Book Beautiful, Humphreys embraced the machine age, ironically using cutting-edge technology to recreate ancient artifacts.

Cy commence le liure de mesire guillaume de mandeuille

Comment mesire guillaume de mandeuille sen ala oultre mer

Comme il soit ainsi que la terre doultre mer cest assa-
uoir la sainte terre de promission en trestoutes les
autres terres cest la plus excellente et la plus digne
et dame souueraine de toutes autres terres et benoit
et saintefie et consacree du precieux corps et du precieux
sang nre seigneur ihesu crist, ou ly pleut soy enom-
brer en la glorieuse uierge marie et prendre char hu-
maine et nourricon et la terre marcher et enuiron-
de ioies et la uoult il maint miracles faire et preschier et enseignier la foy et la
loy de nous crestiens comme a ses enfans, et de cette terre uoult singuliere

PRINTED IN COLORS BY C.GRAF.

Humphreys was determined to introduce medieval manuscripts to his audience: they were inaccessible to most Victorian readers, although the Gothic revival at the beginning of the century had created widespread interest in them and had prompted some book designers to think about the unity of elements on the page and coherence of the book as a whole. In order to ensure that a wide audience would have access to his work, Humphreys issued *Illuminated Books* in parts (at twenty-one shillings each), dispersing the cost of the book over five years, and allowing readers to purchase selections of plates without a commitment to buy the complete book.[9] His goals in using technology to reproduce medieval pages were both scholarly and democratic. In harnessing chromolithography to popularise an artform that had become inaccessible and widely promoting its practice, *Illuminated Books* is a landmark work. In addition to numerous chromolithographed illuminated gift books with his own original designs, Humphreys went on to create many other works that contributed to book history. In these scholarly works, Humphreys continued to take advantage of emerging technologies, including photolithography and photography, to provide his readers with the best possible illustrations of his exemplars.

[3] M. Digby Wyatt (1820–1877). *The Art of Illuminating as Practised in Europe from the Earliest Times*. London: Day, 1860.

Like Owen Jones, Matthew Digby Wyatt was an architect with scholarly interests, eventually becoming the first Slade Professor of Fine Art at Cambridge in 1869. As secretary to the executive committee of the Great Exhibition in London (1851), he was responsible for the construction of the exhibition building and arrangement of its exhibits, and became friends with Owen Jones, who designed the exhibition's decoration. Adopting Jones's innovative chromolithography to reproduce the borders, initials, and alphabets illustrated by William Robert Tymms, Wyatt's manual, *The Art of Illuminating*, combines his scholarly interest in the Middle Ages with his efforts in Design Reform and education.

Wyatt's career embodies masculine professional orthodoxy, yet *The Art of Illuminating* imagines amateur women as potential members of its audience. In his brief chapter on 'What the Art of Illuminating Should be in the Present Day', he vividly imagines a potential illuminator:

The Art
of
Illuminating
as practised in
Europe
From the Earliest Times.
Illustrated by Borders, Initial Letters and
Alphabets, Selected & Chromolithographed by
W. R. Symms.
With an Essay and Instructions by
A. D. Wyatt Arch.
London, Published April
2nd 1860 by Day and Son
Lithographers to the Queen

> a mother could scarcely do a thing more likely to benefit her children, and to fix the lessons of love or piety she would desire to implant in their memories, than to illuminate for them little volumes, which, from their beauty or value, they might be inclined to treasure through life. Interesting her children in her work as it grew under her hand, how many precious associations in after-life might hang about those very books.[10]

Here, Wyatt figures illumination as a means of simultaneously infusing artistry and maternal love into a didactic text. It is a deeply feminised interpretation of the scribal art. Although the trope might seem rather fanciful, illumination soon became a very popular pastime among both amateurs and professionals, both women and men. Judging from the results (Case 3), many of their productions were indeed worth treasuring.

[4] William Audsley (1833–1907) and George A. Audsley (1838–1925). *Guide to the Art of Illuminating and Missal Painting: With Eight Pages of Lithographic Illustrations.* London: George Rowney and Co., 1862.

The Audsley brothers were Liverpool-based architects who produced many chromolithographed books on building ornamentation and designed several religious works. Their manual works hard to establish the seriousness of illumination and to emphasise the manly nature of the art. The Audsley brothers associate the skills of women amateurs, 'our grandmothers, or perchance our maiden-aunts', with the 'large, crude, and gaudy imitations of natural forms' found in sixteenth-century manuscripts.[11] They insist that the illuminator requires years of 'constant study and laborious practice', unlike the hobbyist who seeks to 'adorn some fair lady's album with gold and colour'.[12] Such insistence betrays a telling anxiety about the number of women engaged in the practice.

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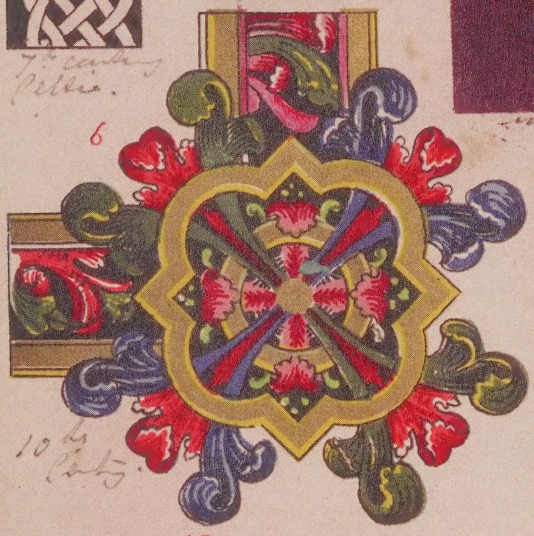
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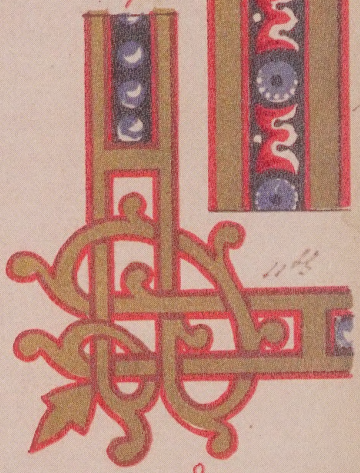
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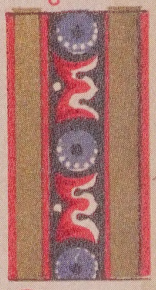
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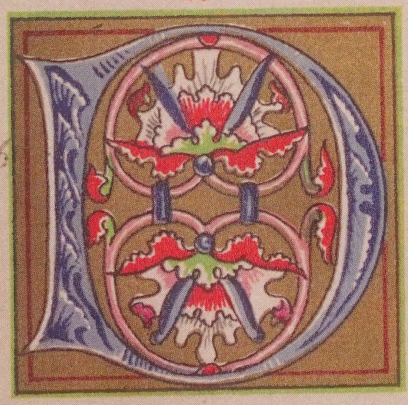

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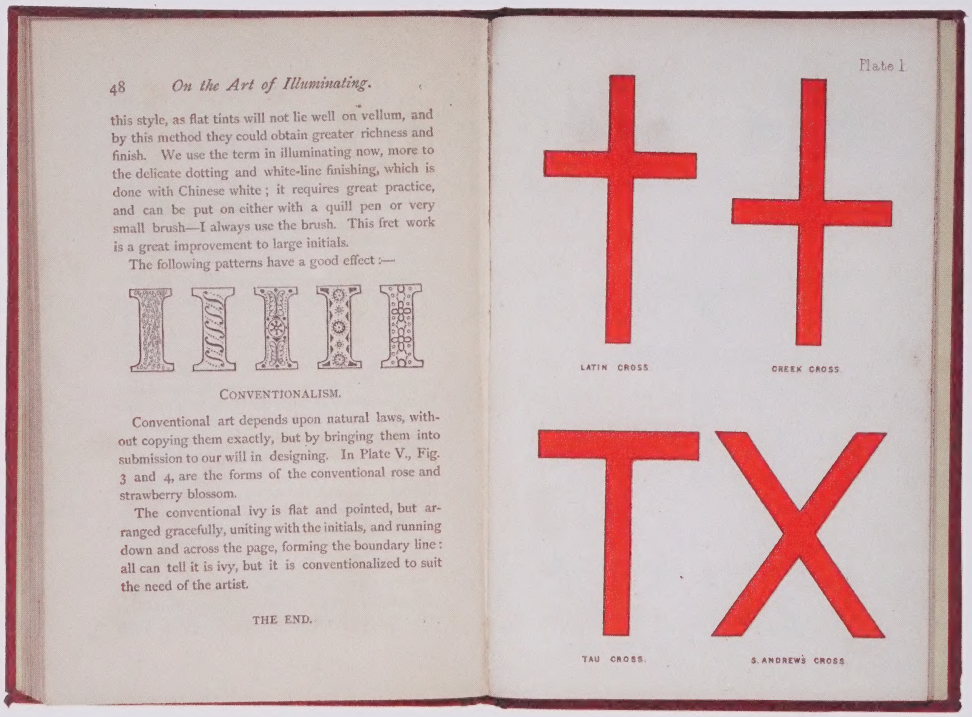
12

[5] Emma Cooper, née Wren (active 1868). *Plain Words on the Art and Practice of Illuminating.* London: Gladwell, [1868].



48 *On the Art of Illuminating.*

this style, as flat tints will not lie well on vellum, and by this method they could obtain greater richness and finish. We use the term in illuminating now, more to the delicate dotting and white-line finishing, which is done with Chinese white; it requires great practice, and can be put on either with a quill pen or very small brush—I always use the brush. This fret work is a great improvement to large initials.

The following patterns have a good effect:—

CONVENTIONALISM.

Conventional art depends upon natural laws, without copying them exactly, but by bringing them into submission to our will in designing. In Plate V., Fig. 3 and 4, are the forms of the conventional rose and strawberry blossom.

The conventional ivy is flat and pointed, but arranged gracefully, uniting with the initials, and running down and across the page, forming the boundary line: all can tell it is ivy, but it is conventionalized to suit the need of the artist.

THE END.

Plate I

LATIN CROSS. GREEK CROSS.

TAU CROSS. S. ANDREW'S CROSS.

Born in 1837, Emma Wren had a talent for drawing that was encouraged by her father's friend, *Punch* caricaturist John Leech (1817–1864), and developed by a drawing master, but she only began to pursue painting seriously in 1866, some eight years after her marriage.[13] Mrs Charles B. Cooper was soon elected a member of Society of Lady Artists, and began serious studies at Heatherley's School of Art. Cooper's formal training, and her opportunity to exhibit at the Crystal Palace, the Lady's Society of Art, Dudley Gallery, and Alexandra Palace, are signs of the growing public acceptance of women artists. The Female School of Design opened in 1847, mainly for women who wanted to earn a genteel livelihood by (industrial) painting or as governesses. In the same year, the Society for British Artists offered classes in figure drawing to ladies. As she launched her career, Emma Cooper won numerous prizes for her work in oils, pastels, chalk, drawing, and water colours, but her special interest in illumination led to the production of *Plain Words on the Art and Practice of Illuminating.*

Cooper's manual is characterised by its practicality. After a history of illumination, she provides very specific instructions about materials and methods. For instance, Cooper refers to various manuscripts in the British Museum by their call numbers, provides a list of suppliers with their addresses, and uses mass-produced outlines purchased from G. Rowney & Co. as models for colour instructions. The preface states that the manual is 'intended for the use of ladies', and rather flatteringly projects an implied audience of 'wealthy' women seeking a 'charming recreation' that will produce 'elegant present[s]' through the illumination of religious works.[14] However, Cooper's address to readers who need to 'employ their time profitably', combined with the low cost of the book, suggests that the intended audience might also have included women trying to make a respectable living in the book arts. This type of readership would explain the pragmatic tone of the work. A lower standard of education is also implied in Cooper's use of illustrations to explain common Christian symbols. The desire to provide her women readers with practical skills would be consistent with the author's interest in women's welfare, professions, and access to higher education. A concern for women's right to work would induce Cooper to join the Gentlewomen's Self Help Institute under the Duchess of Sutherland (1829–1888) in 1870.

Case 3: *Victorian Illuminated Manuscripts*

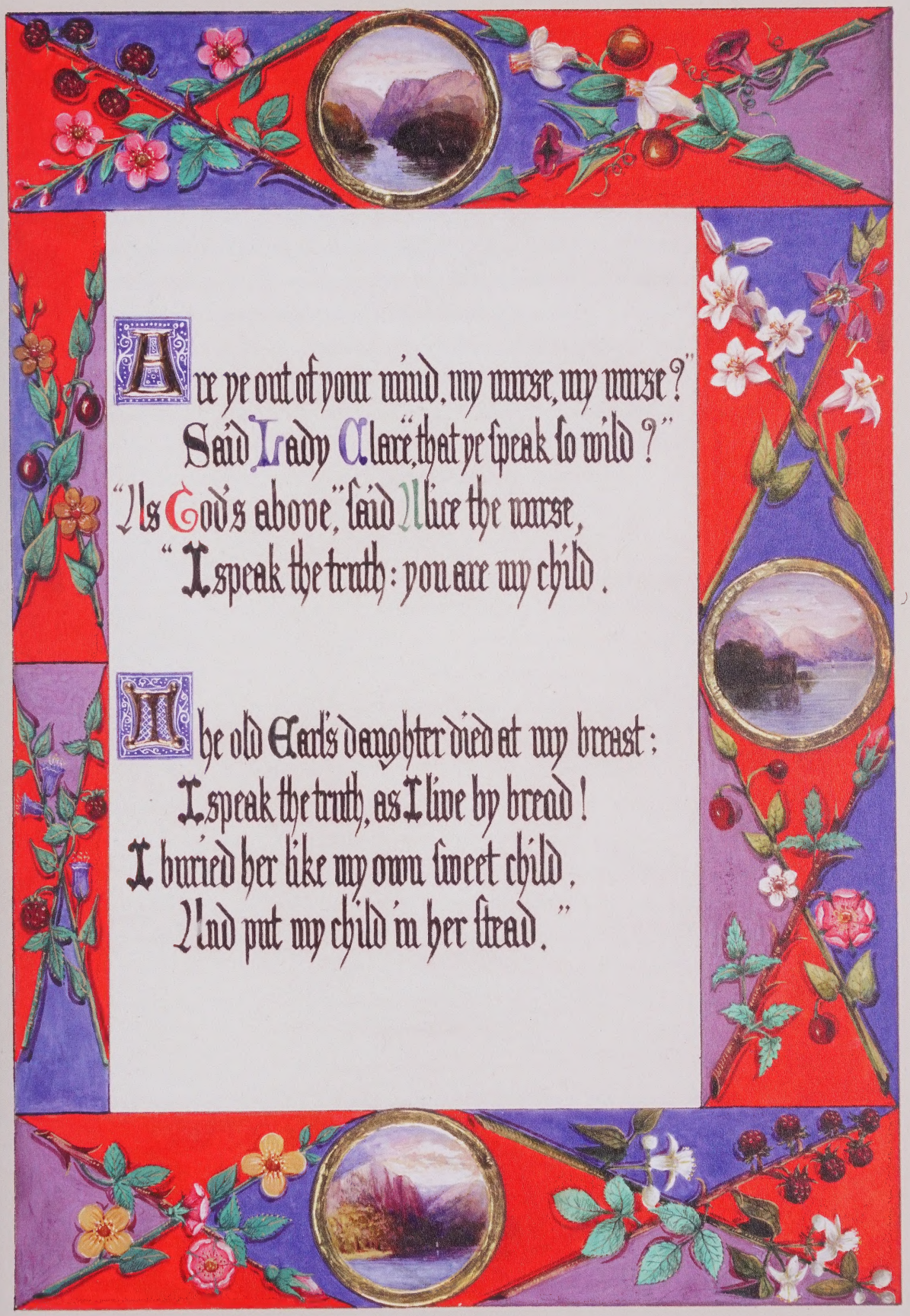
In addition to various forms of albums, Victorian manuscript culture also included illustrated and illuminated manuscripts. Victorian illuminators were informed by greater access to facsimiles of medieval codices and to books that discussed them. They were also inspired by a vividly imagined ideal of the medieval reader who might have read such beautiful manuscripts, and the talented, anonymous craftsmen who made them. In a lecture delivered in 1854, John Ruskin (1819–1900) encouraged his listeners to take up the practice:

> He was anxious to see a taste for decorating books in this manner, because he believed we were falling into a very careless way of regarding our books. [. . .] The feeling that prevailed in the Middle Ages with regard to their books was, that they were holy things, and those who were employed upon them felt that they were engaged upon a holy work. He would like to bring back something of that feeling; [. . .] The great point was to make this art of book illumination fashionable [. . .].[15]

The Victorian fashion for manuscript illumination also seems typical of that culture's tendency to make important ideas into material artifacts.[16] The preoccupation with history in Victorian furnishings, fashion, and pastimes such as manuscript illumination reflects a thoughtful engagement with the ideas and forms of the past.

[6] Alfred Tennyson (1809–1892). 'Lady Clare: A Ballad'. (Manuscript). [189-?].

'Lady Clare' has been made with painstaking care by an unidentified amateur illuminator. It takes as its text one of Tennyson's sentimental ballads. The romantic tale was a popular subject for gift book illustration and the anonymous


Are ye out of your mind, my nurse, my nurse?"
Said Lady Clare, "that ye speak so wild?"
"As God's above," said Alice the nurse,
"I speak the truth: you are my child.
The old Earl's daughter died at my breast;
I speak the truth, as I live by bread!
I buried her like my own sweet child,
And put my child in her stead."

illuminator has given it a medievalised treatment in this elaborate manuscript. Each hand-lettered page features a different border in vivid hues. The designs are made with skill and thoughtful attention to the details of the verse. References to flowers are reflected in the borders. Heightened colours with a flurry of landscape miniatures set off the poem's climax. The embroidered ornamentation on the binding is highly accomplished as well, although the overall effect is somewhat spoiled by the application of artificial, pastel 'jewels'. The binding's repeated emblematic rosette form resembles a pommée cross, in keeping with the romantic and moral tones of the verse.

[7] Louisa Thomas (1810–1911). 'The Alphabet of Wild Flowers, Addressed to Her Young Daughter'. (Manuscript). Kent, 1856[–1857].

This illuminated manuscript combines the form of an abecedary with the language of flowers, proceeding through the letters of the alphabet via the names of decorative plants, depicted in bordering illustrations. The manuscript is valuable for its beauty, and remarkable for its early date of publication: it was made when the Victorian fashion for illuminated manuscripts was still in its very early stages. As recommended by Henry Noel Humphreys and Owen Jones, the illuminator, Lady Louisa Strange (1788–1862), creates original images rather than imitating exemplars. A characteristic trait of Lady Strange's style is her tendency to position naturalistic renderings of blossoms against geometric shapes that resemble medallions or cut-paper lacework. The effect is orderly and crisp. Although some instances of crowded lettering indicate problems with planning, the calligraphy is refreshingly legible. Less polished and elaborate than the version of Lady Strange's 'Alphabet of Wildflowers' held at the Victorian and Albert Museum, this appears to be a draft or process version of the final work.[17]

Little is known about the author of the verses, Louisa Thomas. She was born Louisa Goldsmid to Jewish parents (and used her mother's maiden name, Boscawen De Visme) and married Richard Thomas of Eyhorn House, Kent, in 1838; the Thomases had six children. She adapted the verses in this manuscript for her youngest daughter; Mary Julia Wilder Thomas, aged ten at the time of

composition, is pictured on the page describing the daisy. More details are available about the life of Lady Strange, whose daughter Louisa Mure wrote a memoir.[18] Lady Strange was born Louisa Burroughs in Ireland and raised in England (after a brief time in India). She was very well educated in Devonshire, where she had two drawing masters. In 1806, she married Sir Thomas Andrew Lumisden Strange (1756–1841), a judge in Nova Scotia and Madras, with whom she had twelve children; they spent the first ten years of their marriage in India before returning to England. Throughout her marriage, Lady Strange exercised her talents in drawing, music, and embroidery as a form of relaxation, exhibiting a taste for illumination when she designed initials to repair 'injured missals' at the library of Boulogne in 1830. While on an extended stay in Italy with her daughter Anne, 'she planned and executed her wonderful flower alphabet'.[19]

P stands for POPPY or else quite as well
For another bright blossom the red PIMPERNEL
Shepherd, don thy thick cloak & thy cottage fast gain
For it closes its petals to warn thee of rain.
Q stands for QUERCUS the forest's great King
The OAK that from yon tiny acorn could spring
Heart of OAK are our ships, that to nations afar
Bear the riches of commerce, the thunders of war.

After her husband's death in 1841, Lady Strange relied on her drawing skills to supplement her income. Given her privileged background, such a need to work would undoubtedly have caused embarrassment, and manuscript illumination on private commission was a way to make a living without the exposure that

publication entailed. With similar discretion, Lady Strange's work on the initials and armorial details for Henry Drummond's *History of Noble British Families* (London: William Pickering, 1846) was compensated but uncredited. The dearth of 'respectable' work that could provide an income without causing loss of class status for women who were reduced from 'easy circumstances to narrow means' was a widespread problem that would become the central focus of organisations like the Gentlewomen's Self Help Institute, the Ladies' Work Society, and the Ladies' Industrial Society in the 1870s.[20] The plight of gentlewomen who lacked the abilities and training that enabled Lady Strange to earn a genteel livelihood prompted advocates to seek the franchise for women so that they could remove obstacles to training and employment.[21]

[8] Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–1882). *The House of Life: Sonnets and Songs.* Edinburgh: W. J. Hay at John Knox's House, [1904].

The accomplishments of Phoebe Anna Traquair (1852–1936) realise the hopes of preceding generations who had advocated for women's access to professional training and opportunities in the arts. The first woman member of the Scottish Royal Academy (1920), she had a career that was remarkably continuous and productive. Her talent seems to have prompted unquestioning support. The daughter of an Irish surgeon, Phoebe Moss studied at the School of Design of the Royal Dublin Society from 1869 to 1872. In 1873, she married a Scottish paleontologist, Ramsay Heatley Traquair (1840–1912), whose research papers she had illustrated; the Traquairs moved to Edinburgh in the following year. Although the couple had three children over the next five years, Phoebe Traquair still managed to produce landscape watercolours and embroidered textiles in the late 1870s. In the 1880s, she began decorating chapels and working figural embroidered panels in a Pre-Raphaelite style. Turning increasingly to smaller, more intricate forms, Traquair led the Arts and Crafts movement in Scotland throughout the 1890s and 1900s, in her murals, needlework, paintings, enamel work, jewellery, manuscript illumination, commercial book design, and book cover tooling.[22] Phoebe Traquair was a woman artist of the first rank, professionally trained, included in the artistic community, and respected by serious critics, who turned to the luxury book as a genre wherein she could achieve some of her finest work.

The Kiss

What smouldering
senses in death's sick delay
Or seizure
of malign vicissitude
Can rob this body
of honour, or denude
This soul of wedding-raiment worn to-day?
For lo! even
now my lady's lips did play
With these
my lips such consonant interlude
As
cancelled Orpheus longed for when he
wooed
The half-dream'd lingering face
with that last lay

I was a child beneath her touch, — a man
When breast to breast we clung, even I and
she, — A spirit when her spirit looked th
rough me, — A god when all our life-brea
th met to fan
Our life-blood, till love's
emulous ardours ran,
Fire within fire,
desire in deity

Sonnet 4

TR
1898

Traquair's illuminations are most notable for their miniatures. Her manuscripts are generously illustrated, often with at least one highly detailed miniature and sometimes three or four separate miniatures on each page. Traquair's gothic lettering is dense but highly legible, clarified by her illuminated initials at the beginning of each sentence. Her borders are distinctively slender, in contrast with those of William Morris, Charles Ricketts, Aubrey Beardsley, or Laurence Housman (1865–1959); on occasion they only frame part of the page, and Traquair characteristically depicts isolated foliate or floral figures near the margin, extending beyond the structure of the border itself. Traquair drew inspiration from late medieval and Renaissance Italian examples, but the separate motifs outside of her borders have a distinctly modern quality.

Printed in a limited edition of 150 copies, this pseudo manuscript of Rossetti's *House of Life* provides a sense of Traquair's approach to illumination. As Traquair's prefatory note explains, the images are photographic reproductions of a manuscript made for her brother, William Richardson Moss (1845–1915). The borders feature geometric sections, flowers which recur in the illustrations, and quasi-religious figures that distinctly recall the imagery and palettes of William Blake (1757–1827). The miniature at the base of Sonnet Four, 'The Kiss', echoes Rossetti's own imagery. In it, a woman with light, flowing hair bears a strong resemblance to Elizabeth Siddal (1829–1862), particularly as depicted in Rossetti's *Beata Beatrix* (c. 1864–1870). Traquair's angular depiction of the kiss refers to several of Rossetti's paintings, and the careful depiction of the lovers' extended lips evokes Rossetti's illustration of St Agnes for 'The Palace of Art' in the Moxon Tennyson (item 17). Pointedly, however, the positions are reversed: whereas Rossetti's illustration left some critics wondering if St Agnes is being devoured by the angel who looms over her, Traquair depicts the woman in the dominant position, lifting her lover's face up to herself with both hands. The reconfiguration of Rossetti's image is an admiring acknowledgement as well as a reversal that suggests feminine empowerment.

[9] William Wordsworth (1770–1850). 'Childhood and Age'. (Manuscript), [London], 1916.

[10] Robert Browning (1812–1889). 'On a Gondola'. (Manuscript). [London], 1916.

ere we part,
Clasp me, and make me thine, as
mine thou art!
He is surprised, and stabbed.
t was ordained to be so,
Sweet, — and best
Comes now, beneath
thine eyes, and on
thy breast.
Still kiss me! Care
not for the cowards!
Care
Only to put aside thy beauteous
hair
My blood will hurt! The three,
I do not scorn
To death, because they never lived:
but I
Have lived indeed, and so — (yet
one more kiss) — can die!

Alberto Sangorski (1862–1932) produced approximately one hundred manuscripts on vellum in a semi-Gothic hand, with illuminations and watercolour miniatures.[23] These volumes are generally luxurious versions of previously published works. They typically begin with elaborately designed title pages that feature a watercolour illustration of the work's author, often after a well-known portrait. Vivid, multi-coloured and gilt decorative borders that feature scrolls, geometric shapes, and conventionalised designs of leaves, flowers, and fruit frequently surround the text. Although his designs and letterforms bear many similarities to the examples in Henry Noel Humphreys's *Illuminated Manuscripts*, Sangorski adds an innovative degree of embellishment and a profusion of illustration, especially in miniatures that depict the action described in the verse.

hair
My blood will hurt! The three,
I do not scorn
To death, because they never lived:
but I
Have lived indeed, and so — (yet
one more kiss) — can die!

Alberto Sangorski started making illuminated manuscripts around 1904 and in 1908 he began producing them for the bookbinding firm operated by his brother Francis (1875–1912) and George Sutcliffe (1878–1943). By 1910, Alberto began producing manuscripts for the Rivière bookbinding firm, Sangorski and Sutcliffe's chief rival. When the First World War collapsed the market for luxury illuminated manuscripts, Alberto Sangorski took business matters into his own hands. According to Stephen Ratcliffe, Wordsworth's 'Childhood and Age' and Browning's 'On a Gondola' are among the small number of manuscripts that Sangorski produced in 1916: he 'had them bound unsigned (probably by Rivière), and then marketed them himself'.[24] He continued to work as an illuminator until his death in 1932.

Case 4: *Chromolithographed Gift Books*

Like many Victorian illuminated manuscripts, chromolithographed gift books were inspired by liberating technical possibilities, and the consequent wider access to facsimiles of medieval scribal techniques. Some gift books imitated medieval forms, but many editions incorporated conventional letterpress along with border decorations, miniatures, or large initials, and others explored the possibilities of a completely drawn page without adhering to historical conventions. Chromolithographed gift books that credit women illuminators indicate the increasing acceptance of women in roles other than authorship in the book world: the willingness of Queen Victoria's youngest daughter to publish such a book indicates the utter respectability of such a practice by the 1880s.

[11] John Gibson Lockhart (1794–1854). *Ancient Spanish Ballads: Historical and Romantic.* London: John Murray; Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1842. New ed. rev.

The first edition of J. G. Lockhart's *Ancient Spanish Ballads* (1839) was unremarkable. Beginning with the 1841 edition, however, the collection was issued as a lavish and innovative chromolithographed illuminated gift book with designs by Owen Jones and illustrations by various established artists. The illustrations are rather old fashioned, but they provide a very early instance of wood engraving for the gift book market, anticipating the prominence of this technology in the 1860s. Ruari McLean attributes the cover design, an early example of gold blocking over publishers' cloth, and the elaborate endpapers to Jones, as well as the chromolithography itself.[25] Jones contributed four coloured title pages in Moorish style, as well as borders, vignettes, and ornamented letters. In contrast with the shaded, fully dimensional illustrations, Jones's decorations

adhere to his principles of flat, conventionalised, geometrical design. With this book, Jones invented the chromolithographed illuminated gift book, a new industry that he would dominate for several years. True to his tenet of originality, Jones revised his designs with each new edition of *Ancient Spanish Ballads*. The Fisher's 1842 copy is Jones's second version.

[12] Alfred Tennyson. *The May Queen*. London: Day, 1861.

Although this long poem by Tennyson, first published in 1833, is a meditation on beauty, vanity, and wasted youth, *The May Queen* was very fashionable. Despite its sombre subject matter, it was adapted to a musical setting by William R. Dempster (1809–1871) in 1845 and illustrated with wood engravings by E. V. Boyle in 1861 (item 18). This chromolithographed edition was illuminated by Mrs. W. H. Hartley, about whom very little is known.[26] Hartley uses the language of flowers to interpret Tennyson's text, in a series of colourful, modern arrangements. There is a high level of skill evident in her illuminations, but no other known texts credit Hartley as illustrator or illuminator.

By way of contrast, Alfred Tennyson remains a canonical writer widely known today. By the time of his appointment as Poet Laureate in 1850, he was popular,

You must wake & call me early, call
me early mother dear;
Tomorrow'll be the happiest time
of all the glad new year.
Of all the glad new year mother,
the maddest merriest day.
For I'm to be Queen of the May
mother, I'm to be Queen of the May.

esteemed, and morally unimpeachable. His works were frequently illustrated throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Tennyson tended to write in narrative form with great vividness and visual specificity, so his works were exceptionally congenial to illustration, a trait which had drawbacks as well as advantages. In an era of lively public debate, the absorption of serious writers into the gift book industry was not without detractors. As Lorraine Janzen Kooistra reports,

> This mass-production of the fine arts in commodified form sparked a controversy in the periodical press that raised questions about poetry's place in modern culture. [. . .] For [some] readers, pictures oversimplified the rich multiplicity of poetry's metaphoric meanings and deadened its music. The counter argument saw books of illustrated poetry as a means of bringing the cultural work of the nation's poets and artists into everyday life.[27]

Decorative packaging made it easy to dismiss the quality of the verse or to doubt the sincerity of the poet. Certainly, *The May Queen* has sentimental qualities, but some of Tennyson's most highly regarded work was illustrated in deluxe editions as well. During the 1860s, the result was a 'golden age' of outstanding illustrated luxury editions of first-rate poetry.

[13] William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *Scenes from* The Winter's Tale. London: Day and Son, [1865].

The chromolithographed illuminated gift books that Owen Jones produced for Day and Son in the wake of his success with *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856) demonstrate continual refinement according to his established principles. The design of *Scenes from* The Winter's Tale is elaborate, with forty-eight chromolithographed pages. Each opening features illustrations by Henry Warren (1794–1879) with elaborate borders illuminated by Jones. The success of the collaboration is evinced in the book's overall appearance of integration and balance. Six to thirteen different colours are used on each page in a consistent colour scheme, often with subtler effects than Jones's early works, which had

been produced, predominantly, in primary colours. The compositions are insistently formal. As Ruari Mclean observes, at this stage of Jones's career the design is composed as a two-page opening, rather than as individual pages: spreads 'consist of text, decoration, and illustrations within rectangles and designed as pairs of facing pages'.[28] The book's function as an object of display is suggested in the horizontal or 'landscape' orientation of the pages, stacked over each other. Jones's broad decorative borders integrate the textual and representational elements. The classical setting depicted in the illustrations is consistent with the style of ornamentation and Roman lettering. The text is drawn, so that the entire book can be printed on stone. Although the letters are not constrained by the requirements of letterpress, the letterforms imitate the regularity of type. Despite the freedom offered by his planographic medium, Jones avoids imitating the manuscript tradition and creates an entirely new type of luxury book.

[14] (Traditional). *Te Deum Laudamus.* [London]: Emily Faithfull at the Victoria Press, [1868].

This gift book is most noteworthy for its publisher but it is also a skilfully executed instance of the genre. In her vivid illumination of a traditional prayer, Esther Faithfull Fleet follows Owen Jones in her use of flat colour and in her free sampling of design traditions from various eras and regions, including Egyptian, Anglo Saxon, Celtic, Flemish, and Spanish styles: she imitates the double-page opening typical of medieval page formats, refers to exemplar manuscripts, and ably creates original designs. The daughter of an Anglican rector, Fleet is adept in using the kind of Christian iconography explained in Emma Cooper's manual, and frequently makes use of the language of flowers. A wife and the mother of seven children, Fleet was not a professional illuminator but, rather, seems to have produced two works as an opportunity to collaborate with her sister in paying tribute to their late father's memory. [29] In *Te Deum Laudamus,* nine pages of explanatory descriptions were written by Fleet's sister, Emily Faithfull, who, remarkably, was also the book's publisher.

Between 1860 and 1881, Emily Faithfull produced around one hundred titles, including novels, political pamphlets, and periodicals at the Victoria Press. She also produced and edited *The English Woman's Journal* (later *The Englishwoman's Review*) over a seventeen-year run. Most of these items are well made but plain: the luxurious manufacture of *Te Deum Laudamus,* composed of twenty-nine chromolithographed plates printed on one side of heavy card leaves, edged in gilt, is not at all typical of Victoria Press publications. Nevertheless, in acknowledgement of the Victoria Press's excellent work, Faithfull was appointed printer and publisher in ordinary to the Queen. In 1888, Queen Victoria (1819–1901) sent her a hand inscribed engraving and awarded Faithfull a Civil Service Pension in honour of her dedication to the interests of women. Faithfull destroyed most of her private papers when she was associated with a scandalous divorce in 1864, so very little is known about her personal life. Her professional accomplishments, however, speak for themselves.

Heaven and earth are full of the Majesty of thy glory

[15] Beatrice, Princess Henry of Battenberg (1857–1944). *A Birthday Book*. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1881.

A variation of the *album amicorum*, or friendship album, birthday books were decorated for issue as lavish gifts, often around themes such as the language of flowers, or poetic and scriptural quotations. The books were organized into weekly or monthly sections where owners could record the birth dates of their friends and relatives. Because the inscription area often left ample space for friends to insert remarks or notes along with their autographs, it was not unusual for such books to turn into family registers. Princess Beatrice's illuminated *Birthday Book* is impressive. It contains fifteen beautifully produced chromolithographed plates (printed by J. G. Bach of Leipzig): one for each month, plus an epigraph, frontispiece, and dedication page. The Princess's illuminations are noticeably modern in character. The border divisions are often detailed with geometric ribbons and initial letters are decorated, but there is no attempt to imitate historic or regional styles. Poetic quotations appear in black letter within large but simple borders depicting seasonal flowers. In addition to popular lyricists and canonical figures, Princess Beatrice provides excerpts from religious writers and gives prominence to several Victorian women poets: Felicia Hemans (1793–1835), Frances Ridley Havergal (1836–1879), Adelaide Anne Procter (1825–1864), and Eliza Cook (1818–1889). As a working-class poet associated with the Chartist and suffragist causes, Cook is perhaps the most surprising selection among these. The idiosyncrasy of the Princess's choices is a sign of confidence.

The youngest child of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert (1819–1861), Princess Beatrice was a favoured child from her birth, and her mother's closest companion after the untimely death of her father. Given her education and the prolonged expectation that she would live a single life at her mother's side rather than marrying, it is not surprising that Princess Beatrice would engage in a pastime like illustration. As hobbyist etchers and lithographers, both Victoria and Albert had a keen interest in technology and the book arts, which their youngest daughter shared.

December

Winter is here, let us welcome him on,
Remember Old Christmas is near;
And when Christmas with all his gay feasting has gone,
Why then we've the merry New Year;
Here's a health to the rich who will give to the poor,
Let plenty and mercy ne'er part,
And though bitter winds blow through the white clouds of snow,
No Winter shall fall on the heart.

E. Cook.

Lith. Anst. v. J. O. Bach, Leipzig

Case 5: Wood-Engraved Gift Books

Technological experimentation in monochromatic print illustration raised the artistic sophistication of the luxury book to unprecedented levels. Moreover, in answer to critical complaints about the weak textual content of annuals and gift book series in earlier decades, poetry publishers promoted the cultural status of the gift book in the 1860s by reprinting works of standard authors in ornate form. Starting in the late 1850s, works by well-known poets like Tennyson were treated to fine printing, profuse illustration, and elaborate binding.

One noticeable development in gift books at this time is the departure from the use of steel engravings, which had been popular since the 1820s. Victorian wood engravers adopted and refined the wood engraving method invented by Thomas Bewick (1753–1828), in which the image was cut on the end of the wood block, rather than on the side of the plank, as in a wood cut. Cutting against the grain, where the wood was strongest, enabled the use of the burin and other metal engraving tools for a finer image. Technological enhancements made wood engraving a cheaper and faster method of printing illustrations than steel engraving and enabled much larger print runs. In this relief process, an image could be made with relatively little pressure from the press, resulting in much less deterioration of the surface from the printing process. For the artist, wood engravings allowed greater technical flexibility because they could be printed on a conventional printing press and could appear alongside the letterpress on the same page. This compatibility allowed illustrators to add decorative ornaments to pages of text, such as borders, initial letters, or head- and tail-pieces, creating visual interaction between illustrative elements and text and giving the elements of letterpress the potential to interact with or become part of the visual composition. Artists could think of the whole page as their canvas. Even though the subject matter of the illustrations was dictated by the text, the illustrators could draw inspiration from work that they admired. The creative possibilities attracted first-rate artists.

THE PALACE OF ART.

I BUILT my soul a lordly pleasure-house,
Wherein at ease for aye to dwell.
I said, "O Soul, make merry and carouse,
Dear soul, for all is well."

[16] Alfred Tennyson. *The Miller's Daughter.* London: W. Kent & Co. late David Bogue, [1858?].

This heavily illustrated, decorative issue of *The Miller's Daughter,* a short, sentimental poem about married love, exemplifies the transition that gift books underwent as the 1860s approached. At mid-century there was a noticeable shift in the book industry so that the three months leading into the Christmas season accounted for the year's highest sales.[30] Like the steel-engraved annuals and gift books of previous decades, *The Miller's Daughter* is ornately packaged for the Christmas market. The binding of green morocco-grain publisher's cloth over beveled boards is elaborately blocked in decorative gilt floral tooling on the upper cover and spine, with the pattern repeated on the lower cover in blind. Its nineteen unpaginated leaves include eighteen plates engraved by James Thomson (1834–1882) after illustrations by Anne Lydia Bond (1823–1881). Bond neatly exploits the flexibility of wood engraving to create nuanced illustrations that swell around the margins of the verse as well as decorative borders that coil around the letterpress.

Prestige and reputation were difficult achievements for women artists at this early stage of professionalisation, although they found respectable work in the gift book industry. Anne Lydia Bond seems to have had a long career as an illustrator but won little lasting fame for her accomplishments. She has no entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and *The Dictionary of British Book Illustrators* praises the 'fine vignette and page designs' of *The Miller's Daughter,* but concedes that 'nothing is known of this draughtsman'.[31] Scholarly mentions of her work are almost non-existent, although her name appears as the illustrator of *The History of England for the Use of Young Persons* (London: David Bogue, 1851), *Three Gems in One Setting* (London: W. Kent, 1860), *Leaves from a Christmas Bough* (London: Routledge, 1867), and *Tiny's Natural History in Words of Four Letters* (London: Routledge, 1881). Bond also worked as a photographic colourist and is credited with colouring the photographs that Lewis Carroll (1832–1898) took of Evelyn Hatch (1871–1951). Beyond Bond's publication credits, there are few traces of her life: she lived in Birmingham with her sister Emily, who also never married and worked as a music teacher. Her father declared bankruptcy in 1835, and it is likely that Bond began working as a professional painter from an early age.[32]

XI.

For you remember, you had set,
That morning, on the casement's edge
A long green box of mignonette,
And you were leaning from the ledge:
And when I raised my eyes, above
They met with two so full and bright —
Such eyes! I swear to you, my love,
That these have never lost their light.

XII.

I loved, and love dispell'd the fear
That I should die an early death:
For love possess'd the atmosphere,
And fill'd the breast with purer breath.
My mother thought, What ails the boy?
For I was alter'd, and began
To move about the house with joy,
And with the certain step of man.

[17] Alfred Tennyson. *Poems*. London: Edward Moxon, 1857.

The market dominance of annuals in the first half of the nineteenth century had severely reduced the number of publishers who printed poetry.[33] By the 1850s, those who did, such as Edward Moxon (1801–1858), were eager to profit from their best-selling authors by taking advantage of the now-established Christmas market for deluxe editions. Moxon arranged a deluxe reissue of Tennyson's youthful poetry containing fifty-four illustrations, twenty-nine of which were produced by the three founding members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, John Everett Millais (1829–1896), William Holman Hunt (1827–1910), and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. The remainder of the volume's engravings were supplied by establishment artists who unwittingly served as a flattering foil to the novel approach of the 'PRB'. Unfortunately, Rossetti's contributions were late and, when the book finally appeared in May 1857, Moxon sold less than a quarter of the ten thousand copies he had printed.[34] It was a critical failure as well. Although John Ruskin defended the expressiveness of the Pre-Raphaelite illustrations in a hastily added appendix to his *Elements of Drawing* (1857), the different styles of the artists appealed to different audiences, so the book pleased almost no one at the time of its release.

Chief among those displeased by the 1857 edition was Tennyson himself. In addition to worrying that the absorption of his poetry into gift book form would cheapen his reputation, Tennyson was uneasy about the Pre-Raphaelites' psychological readings of the poems. Tennyson was unhappy with illustrations that interpreted beyond the letter of the text, as William Holman Hunt discovered in a mortifying confrontation with the poet.[35] He was not at all comfortable with the way that wood engravings printed on the same page as his verse influenced the reader's interpretation. Unwilling to surrender authority over the meaning of his verse, the Laureate was particularly sensitive about the inventiveness of the Pre-Raphaelites in their illustrations. However, a shared artistic sensibility enabled the Pre-Raphaelite artists to interpret Tennyson's verse with sympathy and power. Tennyson's sensuous early poetry had been a source of censure when he was a young poet, but was central to his appeal to Rossetti, Hunt, and Millais. Their work shared the emotional intensity and interiority of Tennyson's youthful poetry, as well as his tendency to focus on picturesque, usually female, figures. Although it is an extremely uneven collection, the

THE LADY OF SHALOTT.

PART I.

I.

On either side the river lie
Long fields of barley and of rye,
That clothe the wold and meet the sky;
And thro' the field the road runs by
To many-tower'd Camelot;

Moxon Tennyson announced the emergence of a new aesthetic in illustration and the arrival of visual artists of the first rank from the canvas to the page. This deluxe selection of the Poet Laureate's works has become one of the most famous and admired Victorian collections of poetry.

[18] Alfred Tennyson. *The May Queen*. London: S. Low, 1861.

The highly regarded Eleanor Vere Boyle (1825–1916) profusely illustrated *The May Queen* with thirty-five wood-engraved illustrations including a title-page design, several vignettes, and twenty-six larger designs, engraved by Horace Harral (1817–1905). Well-connected and respectably married to Queen Victoria's chaplain-in-ordinary, Boyle seriously honed her natural painting talent after reading Ruskin's *Modern Painters* (1843). Developing her skills at a time when, as Jo Devereux explains, 'women had yet to be admitted to the Royal Academy Schools, the co-educational Slade School had yet to be founded, and women artists were still struggling to attain the same qualifications as men so that they could pursue their chosen profession', Boyle took advantage of her contacts to enlist private lessons of the highest calibre.[36] She learned anatomical drawing from William Boxall (1800–1879), etching from Thomas Landseer (1795–1880), and received more general advice and support from Charles Eastlake (1793–1865), president of the Royal Academy. In 1854, she joined a sketching club under the direction of John Everett Millais. She was also on friendly terms with the Poet Laureate and received his approval to illustrate *The May Queen*. Naturally gifted and very well trained, Boyle illustrated fourteen books between 1852 and 1877, generally signing her work 'The Hon. Mrs. Richard Boyle', or using her initials, as she did in this work. At its best, Boyle's work is attractive, original, and insightful.

Boyle's work in this 1861 gift book reveals how quickly the Pre-Raphaelite influence spread among illustrators. Highly conventionalised fairies and garden scenes formed Boyle's usual subject matter. In *The May Queen,* however, several strikingly original depictions of adults figure amid the decorative landscapes, children, and angels. An echo of Millais's famous painting of *Ophelia* (1851–1852) can be detected in the composition of the final tableau of the May Queen's dead body. A more general Pre-Raphaelite influence can be seen in

Conclusion.

For ever and for ever, all in a blessed home—

And there to wait a little while till you and Effie come—

To lie within the light of God, as I lie upon your breast—

And the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.

Boyle's metaphorical interpretations of the poem, such as the depiction of the narrator's happiness as a group of bucolic dancing cherubs in a field, or the snow drops that crowd into the sick room on New Year's Eve. Boyle occasionally explores unusual subjects, such as the hooded spectre of Death and the May Queen kneeling to embrace the feet of the crucified Christ, depicting scenes that do not occur in the poem at a literal level. Such figurative departures from the details of the poem create a sense of heightened psychological complexity, intensity, and otherworldliness, moving beyond sentimental decorativeness. Boyle's successful, highly reputable career sets an historically important precedent for other women illustrators.

[19] D. G. Rossetti et al. *A Welcome: Original Contributions in Poetry and Prose.* London: Emily Faithfull, 1863.

This collection of contemporary poetry is one of the more modest gift books produced to mark the occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Wales (1841–1910) to Princess Alexandra of Denmark (1844–1925), but it is an attractive example of the excellent typography produced by Emily Faithfull's Victoria Press, ornamented with wood-engraved initials and a thin black-rule border. Emily Faithfull was a prominent member of the Langham Place circle, a women's group that advocated for the legal reform of women's status, particularly suffrage, access to education, and the right to work. Faithfull was keenly interested in women's work and sought to provide women with access to skilled employment that was jealously guarded by unionised trades. In requiring nimble fingers, compositors' work seemed to be a trade for which women were well suited, but Faithfull had discovered that, 'the girl apprentices were subjected to all kinds of annoyance', by male printers on orders from the Secretary of the London Society of Compositors:

> Tricks of a most unmanly nature were resorted to, their frames and stools were covered with ink, to destroy their dresses unawares, the letters were mixed up in their boxes, and the cases were emptied of 'sorts'. The men who were induced [by Faithfull] to come into the office to work the presses and teach the girls, had to assume false names to avoid detection, as the printers' union forbade their aiding

PRINTING-OFFICE (THE VICTORIA PRESS) IN GREAT CORAM-STREET, FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN AS COMPOSITORS.

> the obnoxious scheme. [. . .] Nevertheless, after some years of work and anxiety, and a serious loss of money, in spite of foes without and traitors within, property purposely destroyed, and machinery wantonly injured, [. . .] the business has been practically opened to women. [37]

Faithfull hired a compositor to train female employees in setting up type and opened the Victoria Press in 1860, using her own capital and supported by the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women. She employed women as compositors, but hired men for 'the heavier tasks of the printing trade, such as lifting of iron chases, carrying of type, and the whole of the presswork'.[38] Solicitous about working conditions at the shop, she paid special attention to light, ventilation, and the length of shifts.[39] Other English women had been printers, but these were widows or daughters who had inherited a family business: Emily Faithfull purposefully opened her shop as a way to train girls into having a livelihood.

[20] Christina Rossetti. *Goblin Market and Other Poems.* Cambridge, London: Macmillan and Co., 1862.

Unlike the Moxon Tennyson, Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market* was a deeply original volume of new poetry illustrated by a single artist. Lorraine Janzen Kooistra reports that Christina Rossetti was determined to have her brother, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, illustrate the volume; she 'refused to go to print without Gabriel's accompanying woodcuts [. . .] even though this meant losing the Christmas market'.[40] She took care of the negotiations about the book herself and acted as an 'autonomous author'.[41] The Rossetti siblings collaborated on the volume, but it was very much Christina's book.

Displeased with the engravings of his illustrations in earlier works, Dante Gabriel Rossetti changed his style significantly in *Goblin Market,* with an apparent recognition of the technical differences between painting and engraving. As Alice Faxon observes, he creates 'larger areas of black and white and a less crowded composition'.[42] The overall result is greater clarity of line and expression. Both

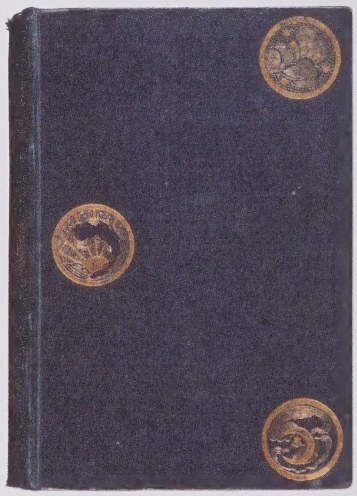
wood engravings balance natural physicality and artifice. The title page of *Goblin Market* represents a significant advance in Dante Gabriel Rossetti's revolutionising experiments in total-page design and total-book design. The title and author's name appear in a rounded font that corresponds in thickness with the other features of the page above a vignette picturing the sisters of the poem within a frame, asleep, with the goblins incongruously appearing over their heads in a medallion. The erotic suggestions of the sisters' voluptuous, mingling forms alert us that this is a book intended for adults. The line from the poem which the vignette illustrates, 'golden head by golden head', appears beneath the illustration, its repetition echoing the visual impression that the female figures are indistinguishable duplicates. The vignette is framed by double horizontal and vertical lines, creating a trellis effect enhanced by floral motifs at the corners. The globe-shaped inset of the goblins is repeated in two roundels at the upper corners of the frame. Monograms for the illustrator and the engraver, William James Linton (1812–1897), appear modestly in the lower corners.[43]

[21] Christina Rossetti. *The Prince's Progress and Other Poems*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1866.

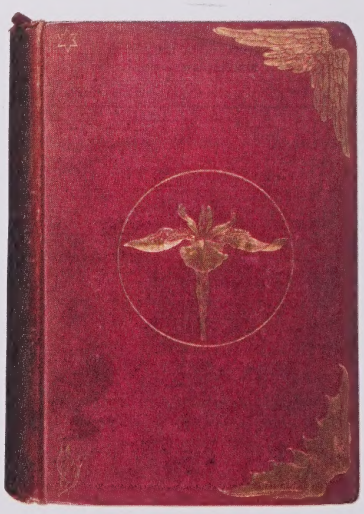
Of the ten book illustrations that Gabriel Rossetti executed in his lifetime, four were for Christina's books, *Goblin Market and Other Poems* (1862) and *The Prince's Progress and Other Poems* (1866).[44] The *Prince's Progress* illustrations refer to the beginning and end of the eponymous poem, with a portrait of Gabriel's wife Elizabeth Siddal gazing out of a window on the title page and the frontispiece depicting the scene where the titular prince learns of the princess's death. The framing structure embellished with trios of small circles that adorns the title page is repeated on the book's cover, which Gabriel also designed. As with *Goblin Market*, he chose a spine font and endpapers that matched those used on his translations of *The Early Italian Poets* (1861). As Alistair Grieve observes, the horizontal lines that continue across the spine of the book, embellished with spirals, give 'a vertical emphasis to the design [. . .] because it is weighted more heavily on the side

nearest the book's spine', thus bringing 'the front cover into closer relationship with the spine and back'.[45] Jerome McGann summarises, 'Rossetti's influence was foundational for one reason: he was seen to have grasped, for an age of mechanical reproduction, the idea of the total book, and to have realized it as a bibliographical idea'.[46] His bindings unify the works of the Rossettis as an *oeuvre*. Dante Gabriel Rossetti's innovative efforts to bring together the binding, endpapers, page layout, and illustrations of a book into a coherent decorative design were profoundly influential.

[22] **Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837–1909). *Songs Before Sunrise*. 1871.**



[23] **Maria Rossetti (1827–1876). *The Shadow of Dante: Being an Essay Towards Studying Himself, His World, and His Pilgrimage*. London: Rivingtons, 1871.**



The design elements of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's cloth bindings create the effect of a luxury binding using ordinary, low-cost materials. In many cases, the ornaments he used to adorn the covers also signal the subject matter of the text. On Swinburne's *Songs Before Sunrise*, Rossetti's roundels of the sun, the stars, and the moon refer to the title. For Maria Rossetti's academic discussion of Dante Allegheri, his arrangement of symbols on the upper cover includes a Florentine iris within a circle, angel wings, and bat wings: references to the poet's birthplace, and his poetry's exploration of heaven and hell. Beyond adding vibrant ornamentation, Rossetti's thoughtful use of design extends the meaning of the text within the book to its material presentation.

Case 6: *William Morris and The Kelmscott Press, 1890–1896.*

Of all Victorian practitioners of the book arts, William Morris is likely the most familiar to book lovers today. The eldest son of a wealthy broker, Morris was blessed with both privilege and talent; aside from his role in design and printing, he was an accomplished poet. His lifelong fascination with medieval art flourished at Exeter College, Oxford, when he befriended Edward Coley Burne-Jones (1833–1898), who would become a major Pre-Raphaelite artist and introduce him to the circle of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Gifted and outspoken, Morris became a leader of the Arts and Crafts movement, which merged the Pre-Raphaelites' detailed observation of natural forms; Design Reform's principled conventionalism and emphasis on utility; and John Ruskin's medievalism and moral idealisation of artisanal work. As its name suggests, the movement also revived attention to and respect for 'crafts', such as embroidery, stained glass design, pottery, furniture-making, and printing.

Morris founded the Kelmscott Press in 1890. His efforts included choosing the titles, locating high quality ink, ordering hand-made laid linen paper (with custom water marks of his own pattern), creating new font styles based on incunabular exemplars, devising elaborate initial ornaments, and designing the layout of the books themselves. Morris's Arts and Crafts ideals led him to produce beautiful books in very small quantities, while his socialist principles meant that the artisans he hired were well compensated for their expertise: Kelmscotts were inherently rare and costly, but very well received. By the time of Morris's death, the Kelmscott Press had produced over fifty works. His efforts had a lasting impact on publishing history.

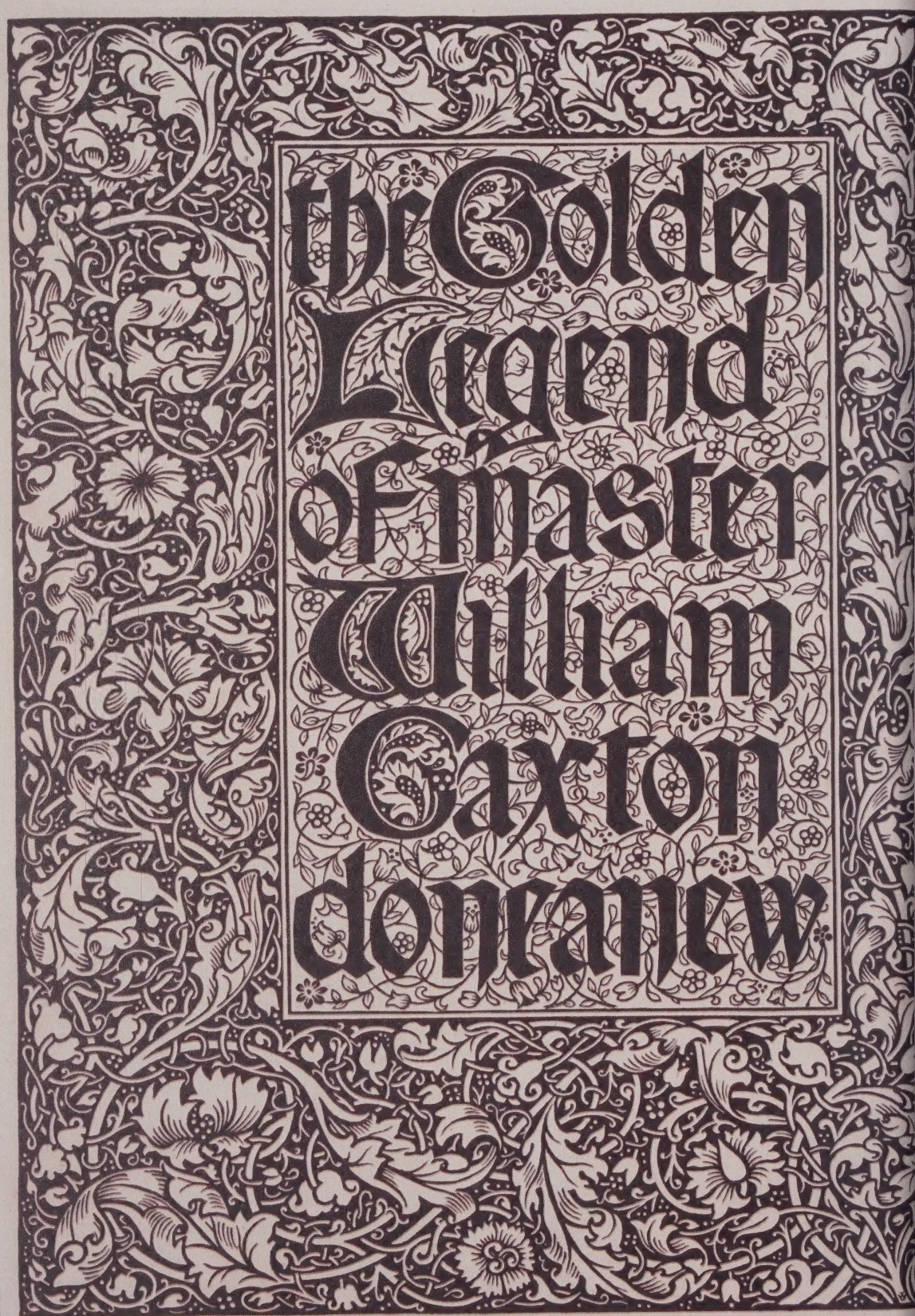
[24] [Wallpaper sample books]. London: Morris & Co., 1899–1916.

William Morris's 'typographical adventure' at Kelmscott was informed by his previous experiments in wallpaper design and printing. The decoration of his conjugal home by Morris and his friends led to the establishment of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner, & Company in 1861, which made innovative furniture, textiles, and wallpaper. In this enterprise, particularly in the embroidery and carpet departments, Morris had early experience employing women to produce skilled work.[47] As an ardent champion of dignity in labour, Morris became a leading socialist and demonstrated a willingness to reconsider working conditions from the opening of Morris & Company in 1861.

[25] Jacobus De Voragine (1228–1298). *The Golden Legend of Master William Caxton Done Anew*. Hammersmith: Kelmscott Press, 1892. Three Volumes. Translated by William Caxton (c. 1422–c. 1491), edited by Frederick S. Ellis (1830–1901).

Unlike previous designers of luxury books, who had experimented with silk bindings or explored cutting-edge developments in engraving or chromolithography, Morris went back to first principles. Drawing on his knowledge of medieval manuscripts and Renaissance incunabula, Morris worked with the finest papers, inks, and craft workers available. Although *The Golden Legend* features two woodcuts designed by Edward Burne-Jones, the illustrations are secondary to the effect of the total book.[48] Morris described his efforts to restore the pre-industrial craftsmanship of hand printing to the book arts as a 'typographical adventure' and typography, that is, the appearance and arrangement of the type, is the inspiration behind this book.[49] As Dana Oliveri remarks, Morris was concerned 'that Victorian books were produced with badly proportioned margins, too much space between words and lines, and low-quality ink and paper'.[50] He was inspired to start the Kelmscott Press while listening to a lecture by the influential engraver and printer Emery Walker. Observing Walker's use of slides projected by a magic lantern to illustrate his ideas, Morris was inspired to use enlarged photographs to imitate early type fonts used by Jacobus Rubeus (fl. 1474–1480) and Nicolas Jenson (1420–1480).[51] After careful study, which included repeated tracing of the Renaissance fonts, Morris designed a font he named the Golden Type for his edition of *The Golden Legend*. It was the first of three fonts that Morris designed.

Arguably, the appearance of the type was Morris's greatest priority in printing *The Golden Legend*. Such a priority would invest special responsibility in the work of the compositors, who assembled the pieces of type. It is thus noteworthy that one of the compositors hired at the Kelmscott Press to complete work on the book was a woman. William Peterson reports that Morris persuaded a master printer named William Bowden to come out of retirement. Finding the work 'too burdensome for one pair of hands', Bowden


the Golden
Legend
of master
William
Caxton
done anew

OF THADUENT OF OUR LORDE.

THE tyme of thaduent or comyng of our lord in to this world is halowed in holy chirche the tyme of iiii wekes in betokenyng of iiii dyuerse comynges. ¶ The i was whan he came and apierid in humayn nature and flessh. The ii is in the herte and conscyence. The iii is at the deth. The iiii is at last Jugement. The last weke may vnnethe be accomplissed. For the glorye of the sayntes whiche shal be yeuen at the last comyng shal neuer ende ne fynysshe. And to this signyfyaunce the first responce of the first weke of aduent hath iiii verse to rekene ¶ Gloria patri & filio for one to the reporte of the iiii wekis, and how be it that there be iiii comynges of our lord, yet the chirche maketh mencion in especial but of tweyne, that is to wete, of that he came in humayne nature to the world, and of that he cometh to the Jugement & dome, as it apperith in thoffyce of the chirche of this tyme. And therfor the fastynges that ben in this tyme, ben of gladnes and of joye in one partie, & that other partie is in bitternesse of herte. By cause of the comynge of our lorde in our nature humayne, they ben of joye and gladnes. And by cause of the comyng at the day of Jugement, they be of bitternes and heuynes.

AS towchyng the comyng of our lord in our bodyly flessh, we may considre thre thynges of this comyng. That is to wete thoportunyte, the necessyte & the vtylyte. ¶ The oportunyte of comyng is taken by the reson of the man that first was vanquysshyd in the lawe of nature of the defaulte of the knowledge of god, by whiche he fyll in to euyll errours, & therfore he was constrayned to crye to god ¶ Illumina oculos meos, that is to saye, lord gyue lyght to myn eyen. After cam the lawe of god whiche hath gyuen commandement in which he hath ben overcome of Impuissance, as first he hath cryed ther is non that fulfilleth, but that comandeth. For ther he is only taught but not delyuerd fro synne, ne holpen by grace, and therfore he was constrayned to crye, ther laketh non to comande

> enlisted both the aid of his son W. H. Bowden and his daughter Mrs. Pine, who appear to have joined their father in February and April respectively. W. H. Bowden soon became Morris's foreman; Mrs. Pine, who was paid the same wages as the men (contrary to the usual practice at the time), achieved the distinction of becoming the first woman to join the London Society of Compositors.[52]

As a socialist, Morris departed from standard employer practice in a number of ways, including full cooperation with unions, reduced hours, and improved conditions for his workers, but his willingness to employ a woman compositor is remarkable, given the active resistance by the London Society of Compositors to female membership.[53] Morris was able to use his influence to have Mrs. Pine enrolled with the Society.[54] Morris is an appealing historical figure, and it is tempting to overstate his support of women's rights, but one can attest unequivocally that his employment and support of Mrs. Pine marked a major milestone in the admission of women into a professional role in the book arts.

[26] Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1340–1400). *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, Now Newly Imprinted.* Hammersmith: Kelmscott Press, 1896.

Widely considered to be the most beautiful book printed in the English language, the Kelmscott *Chaucer* is the crowning achievement of Morris, Burne-Jones, and their artisan collaborators. The *Chaucer* has numerous ornamental initials designed by William Morris with shoulder and side titles printed in red and black using the Troy type.[55] Whereas typical Kelmscott productions used restraint in illustration, the *Chaucer* proffers eighty-seven wood engravings designed by Edward Burne-Jones, cut by W. H. Hooper, after drawings by Robert Catterson-Smith (1853–1938). Burne-Jones also contributed a full-page wood-engraved title page, fourteen large borders, eighteen different woodcut frames around the illustrations, and twenty-six nineteen-line woodcut initial letters. In their discussions of such complex systems of design, Arts and Crafts practitioners developed a subtle and elaborate vocabulary to describe their efforts. As Lorraine Janzen Kooistra remarks, 'Artists now "pictured", "decorated", "designed", "ornamented" and even "embroidered"; they did not "illustrate"'.[56] It is informative to

The Romaunt of the Rose
Yit hath the merveilous cristal
Swich strengthe, that the place overal,
Bothe fowl and tree, and leves grene,
And al the yerd in it is sene.
And for to doon you understonde,
To make ensample wol I fonde;
Right as a mirour openly
Sheweth al thing that stant therby,
As wel the colour as the figure,
Withouten any coverture;
Right so the cristal stoon, shyning,
Withouten any discevring.
The estres of the yerde accueth
To him that in the water mueth;
For ever, in which half that he be,
He may wel half the gardin see:
And if he turne, he may right wel
Seen the remenaunt everydel.
For ther is noon so litel thing
So hid, ne closed with shitting,
That it ne is sene, as though it were
Peynted in the cristal there.
THIS is the mirour perilous,
In which the proude Narcisus
Saw al his face fair and bright,
That made him sith to lye upright.
For whoso loke in that mirour,
Ther may nothing ben his socour
That he ne shal ther seen som thing
That shal him lede into loving.
Ful many a worthy man hath it
Yblent; for folk of grettest wit
Ben sone caught here and awayted;
Withouten respyt been they bayted.
Ther comth to folk of newe rage,
Ther chaungeth many wight corage;
Ther lyth no reed ne wit therto;
For Venus sone, daun Cupido,
Hath nowen there of love the seed,
That help ne lyth ther noon, ne reed.
So cerclerth it the welle aboute,
His gimmes hath he set withoute
Right for to cacche in his gaineres
These damoyselle and bacheleres.
Love will noon other bridde cacche,
Though he aette either net or lacche.
And for the seed that here was sowen,
This welle is eleped, as wel is knowen,
The Welle of Love, of verray right,
Of which ther hath ful many a wight
Spoke in bokes dyversely.
But they shulle never so verily
Descripcioun of the welle here,
Ne eth the sothe of this matere,
As ye shulle, whan I have undo
The craft that hir bilongeth to.
LOKYE me tyked for to dwelle,
To seen the cristal in the welle,
That shewed me ful openly
A thousand thinges faste by.
But I may save, in sorry houre
Stood I to loken or to poure;
For sithen have I sore syked,
That mirour hath me now entryked,
But hadde I first knowen in my wit
The vertue and the strengthe of it,
I nolde not have mused there;
Me hadde bet ben elleswhere;
For in the noure I fel anoon,
That hath bitraished many oon.
ANN thilke mirour saw I tho,
Among a thousand thinges mo,
A Roser charged ful of roses,
That with an hegge aboute enclos
Yo.
Tho had I wich lust and envye,
That, for Dargys ne for Davye,
Nolde I have left to goon and see
Ther grettest hepe of roses be.
Whan I was with this rage bent,
That caught hath many a man and shent,
Toward the roser gan I go.
And whan I was not fer therfro,
The savour of the roses swote
Me smoot right to the herte rote.
Ne I hadde al embawmed be,
And if I ne hadde endouted me
To have ben hated or assailed,
My thanken, wolde I not have failed
To pulle a rose of al that route
To beren in myn honde aboute.
And smellen to it wher I wente;
But ever I dredde me to repente,
And lest it greved or forthoughte
The lord that thilke gardyn wroughte.
Of roses were ther gret woon,
So faire were never in noon.
Of knoppes clos, som saw I there,
And some wel better woxen were;
And some ther been of other moysoun,
That drowe nigh to hir seasoun,
And sprodde hem faste for to upreide;
I love wel swiche roses rede;
For brode roses, and open also,
Ben passed in a day or two;
But knoppes wiles fresshe be
Two dayes atte leest, or three.
The knoppes gretly lyked me,
For fairer may ther no man see.
Whoso mighte haven oon of alle,
It oughte him ben ful leef withalle.
Might I a gerlond of hem geten,
For no richesse I nolde it leten.
Among the Knoppes I chees oon
So fair, that of the remenaunt noon
Ne preyse I half so wel as it,
Whan I avyse it in my wit,
For it so wel was enlumyned
With colour red, as wel sfyned
As nature couthe it make faire.
And it had leves wel foure paire,
That Kinde had set through his knowing
Aboute the rede rose springing.
The stalke was as risshe right,
And theron stood the knoppe upright,
That it ne bowed upon no syde.
The swote swelle sprong so wyde
That it dide al the place aboute...
Thus far Geffrey Chaucer; what follows is thought to be by another hand.
The Roser
The Knoppe
THAN I had smelled the savour swote,
No wille hadde I fro thens yit go,
But aomdel neer it wente I tho,
To take it: but myn hond, for drede,
We dovste I to the rose bede,
For thistels sharpe, of many maneres,
Netles, thornes, and holed breres;
Ful muche they disetourbled me,
For sore I dradde to harmed be.
The God of Love, with bowe bent,
That al day set hadde his talent
To pursuen and to spyen me,
Was stonding by a figer-tree,
And whan he sawe how that I
Had chosen so ententifly
The botoun, more unto my pay
Than any other that I say,
Pe took an arowe ful sharply wher,
And in his bowe whan it was set,
Pe streight up to his ere drough
The stronge bowe, that was so tough,
And shet at me oo wonder smerte,
That through myn eye unto myn herte
The takel smoot, and depe it wente.
And therwithal such cold me hente,
That, under clothes warme and softe,
Sith that day I have chevered ofte.
THAN I was hurt thus in that stounde,
I fel doun platunto the grounde.
Myn herte failed and feynted ay,
And long tyme ther aswone I lay.
But whan I com out of swooning,
And hadde wit and my feling,
I was al maat, and wende ful wel
Of blood have loren a ful gret del.
But certes, the arowe that in me stood
Of me ne drewe no drope of blood,
For why I found my wounde al dreye.
THAN toch I with myn hondis tweye
The arowe, and ful fast out it plight,
And in the pulling sore I sighte.
The God of Love
Beautee

see their adoption of words associated with traditional women's practices and crafts in their effort to describe artistic collaboration.

An important part of the experience of viewing the Kelmscott *Chaucer* is its size. Using an architectural vocabulary similar to that of Morris, Burne-Jones relished the way that his illustrations were 'snugly cased in the borders and buttressed up by the vast initials', and described the book as 'a pocket cathedral'.[57] Morris claimed that the size favoured, rather than inhibited, its use as a book to be read: 'a big folio lies quiet and majestic on the table, waiting kindly till you please to come to it, so that your mind is free to enjoy the literature which its beauty enshrines'.[58] Perhaps because the content of this book is familiar to many readers, the Kelmscott *Chaucer* manages to balance its status as both text and object. Its effect of focusing the reader's mind on the material object is perfectly harmonious with the nature of Chaucer's earthly sensibility. Its beauty memorialises the iconic cultural value of the poetry it contains.

Case 7: *Art Nouveau Limited Editions*

As the 1890s progressed, the luxury book was no longer designed for family viewing in a lady's drawing room. It became, rather, the sophisticated trophy of the connoisseur. Unlike the grangerizing collectors of the previous century, these aesthetes included ladies, as readers of the novels written by Henry James (1843–1916) will recall. In fact, women were particularly implicated in the practice of transforming the home into a Palace of Art, in part by curating a collection of *objets* that included limited-edition artist books. Unlike the mass-marketed gift books of the mid-century, the luxury book of the Aesthetic Movement was directed at a niche audience—of women as well as men—who collected exclusive editions as an indication of personal taste.

[27] Sir Thomas Malory (fl. 15th century). *The Birth, Life and Acts of King Arthur.* [London: J. M. Dent], 1893–1894.

When he was only nineteen, Aubrey Beardsley managed to gain admittance to the home of Edward Burne-Jones with a portfolio of sketches under his arm.[59] The revered Pre-Raphaelite recognised Beardsley's promise and recommended him to study under Fred Brown (1851–1941) at the Westminster School of Art. There, Beardsley refined his technique and came under the notice of influential art journalists. By 1892, Beardsley was already developing his intricate, high-contrast linear style that took advantage of the new process-block method of printing: photography was used to transfer the artist's image on to a metal surface, which could sustain very fine lines without degrading from pressure during the printing process. Beardsley's growing reputation brought him to the attention of the publisher J. M. Dent (1859–1926), who was looking for an artist to illustrate an edition of Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* in the highly ornamented Kelmscott style. As George P. Landow observes, Beardsley's illustrations in *Morte d'Arthur* reveal the strong influence of Burne-Jones, imitating

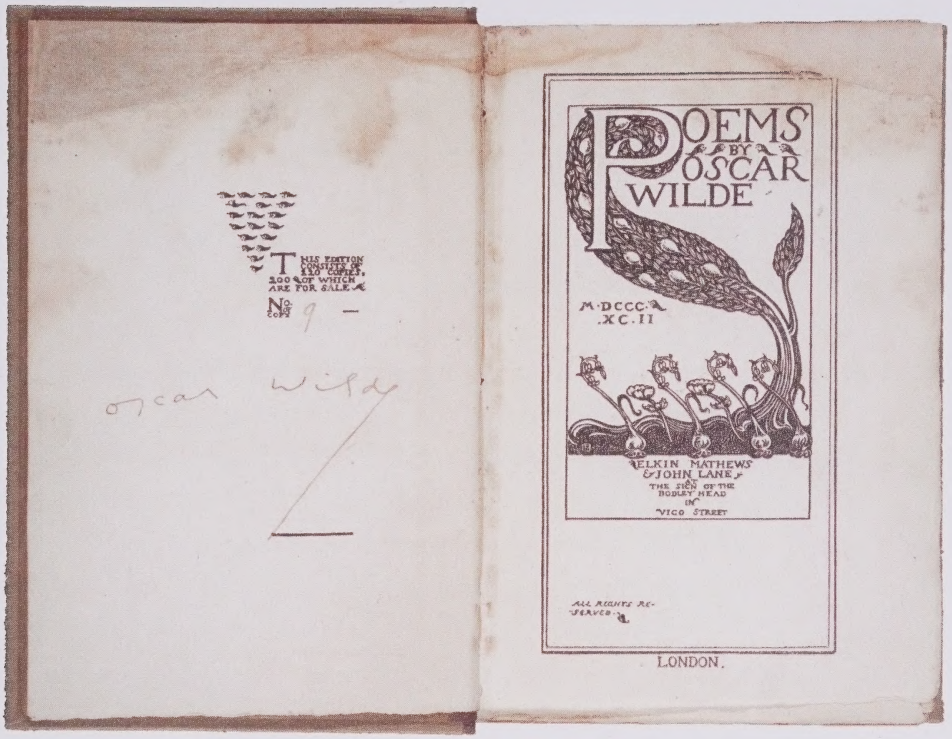
MERLIN AND
NIMVE

'the Burne-Jones chin and profile, flattened, decorative space, frieze-like compositions, and androgynous figure types'.[60] The Kelmscott effect is strongly felt in the elaborate borders that take the double-page opening as their design unit, but with greater contrast, flatness, and conventionalization of forms.

The Dent commission was a windfall to Beardsley, who had grown up in genteel poverty. He became bored with Malory's long text, however, and disdained medievalism as subject matter that had been appropriated by the middle class.[61] As the work progressed, some of the borders were hastily drawn and Beardsley began to include imagery designed to shock bourgeois tastes. The stalks and pods in the borders become more phallic in contour, while nudes and grotesques feature increasingly in the illustrations. As Lorraine Janzen Kooistra observes, audacity translated into aesthetic credibility: 'shocking or subversive subject matter [. . .] enhanced the value of these books for the refined aesthete wishing to distinguish himself (and sometimes herself) from the middle-class respectability of Podsnaps and philistines'.[62] Raw sexuality in elegant, stylised form became Beardsley's 'brand', and he briefly benefitted from the notoriety. Beardsley's work marks the turn from Arts and Crafts idealism to *fin de siècle* decadence.

[28] Oscar Wilde (1854–1900). *Poems*. London: E[lkin] Mathews & J[ohn] Lane, [1892].

The success of Morris's 'typographic adventure' demonstrated to the book world that there was a significant market of book lovers willing to buy very expensive luxury books produced in limited runs. Oscar Wilde was a particularly astute observer. He salvaged more than two hundred unsold copies of his *Poems*, printed by the Chiswick Press for David Bogue before the publisher went bankrupt in 1882, and took them to Mathews and Lane for reissue as an 'Author's Edition'.[63] In this transaction, as Lorraine Janzen Kooistra remarks, 'Wilde actively sought to bring out his poetry with the accompaniment of interpretative or decorative designs by a visual artist'.[64] Bogue's imprint and advertisements were cancelled and replaced with a new half title and a title page by Charles Ricketts, who also designed endpapers and an ornate cover composed of gilt, elongated, floral forms. Wilde signed each copy of the resulting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Oscar Wilde
POEMS BY OSCAR WILDE
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ELKIN MATHEWS & JOHN LANE
THE SIGN OF THE BODLEY HEAD
VIGO STREET
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LONDON.

limited edition of two hundred and twenty numbered copies. Although the Bogue fifth edition had been priced at ten shillings and sixpence, the repackaged Author's Edition sold at fifteen shillings.

Wilde's Author's Edition owed a great deal to the talent of Charles Ricketts. Ricketts, whose father was a retired English naval officer and whose mother was the daughter of a French marquis, had an unconventional childhood in continental Europe and came to England in 1880. His father died in 1883 and Ricketts was supported by a modest allowance from his paternal grandfather. When he was sixteen, he entered the City and Guilds Art School in Kennington, London, and was apprenticed as a wood engraver to Charles Roberts (fl. 1870–1898). Around the same time, Ricketts met his lifelong partner, the painter and lithographer Charles Haslewood Shannon (1863–1937). The couple produced an art journal called *The Dial* (1889–1897), and soon began experimenting in book design, cutting their own illustrations rather than employing a professional engraver. Having established a reputation, Ricketts began to receive commissions from publishers to illustrate books of poetry and prepare designs to ornament their cloth bindings.[65] A major influence on book design in the

1890s, Ricketts was at the centre of bohemian Art Nouveau circles that would use the prestige and consequent high prices of limited editions to evade the pressure of bourgeois moral values on art and its makers.

[29] Michael Field. *Fair Rosamund.* [London: Hacon & Ricketts, 1897].

With the support of a wealthy investor, Llewellyn Hacon (1861–1910), Charles Ricketts was able to start the Vale Press in 1894. Named after the Chelsea neighbourhood where Ricketts lived, The Vale Press was an admiring, intelligent response to the accomplishments of William Morris at the Kelmscott Press. Trained, like Morris, as a wood engraver, Ricketts made his own borders and initials. Concerned, like Morris, about the blurring effects of 'dazzle' on the page, Ricketts aimed to avoid 'rivers of white' caused by 'wanton spacing'.[66] Like Morris, Ricketts designed three fonts; he based his forms on early printed books by Johann of Speyer (d. 1470) and Nicolas Jenson, as well as an eighth-century manuscript hand known as Carolingian miniscule. Vale books have a much lighter style than the ornate Kelmscotts, though they are every bit as intricate. As Ricketts put it, Morris's borders were 'full of wine', while his own were 'full of light'.[67]

Ricketts created volumes of fine printing with a degree of elaboration that rivalled the achievements of William Morris, but extended ornamentation beyond type, borders, and illustrations, to the design of endpapers and bindings as well. Ricketts could reasonably claim that,

> a Kelmscott book, and, if I may say so, a Vale book, is a living and corporate whole. [. . .] it is conceived harmoniously and made beautifully, like any other genuine work of art.[68]

In taking on all of the design elements by himself, including the illustrations, Ricketts provided his books with a unity of artistic vision that went beyond the Kelmscott editions and completely departed from the varied collaborations of the 1860s.

ACT I

Scene I

Woodstock: masons raising the Labyrinth

Enter at a distance King Henry, Sir Topaz, and Mavis

Ist MASON

YONDER IS THE KING.

IInd MASON

He's aged of late.

Ist MASON

Ay, ay! about the face; his fiery hair
Is dimmed as if by smoke; his eyes are hollow,
Yet is he stout in body; well-nigh young.

[30] Michael Field. *The World at Auction.* [London: Hacon & Ricketts, 1898].

Most Vale Press publications were devoted to canonical English poets, but exceptions were made for friends in the Vale circle such as 'Michael Field', the pseudonym used by collaborative poets Katharine Harris Bradley (1846–1914) and Edith Emma Cooper (1862–1913). Bradley and Cooper became close, lifelong friends of Ricketts and Shannon after they met in 1894. The two women were romantic partners as well as poetic collaborators; they produced some forty works, many of them about same-sex desire, in as many years together. Although many women authored books under their own names by the 1890s, a masculine pseudonym was a form of protection for unorthodox women; 'Michael Field' was a name that provided cover for the lesbian couple who adopted it and the shared *nom de plume* was a way of merging credit for the two writers' contributions. Deeply cultured, they shared many interests with Ricketts and Shannon, including a taste for classical literature. 'Michael' (Bradley) and 'Henry' (Cooper) were admired in their circle for their connoisseurship. Although their pursuits were enabled by a significant independent income, every detail of their lives and careers indicates new freedoms and social possibilities for women in certain (admittedly bohemian) circles during the *fin de siècle*. Bradley and Cooper were taken seriously as writers, intellectuals, connoisseurs, and collectors, and valued as equals by the Vale aesthetes.

The long, thin profile of *Fair Rosamund* and *The World at Auction* is a typical Vale format; as Giles Barber observes, Ricketts modelled it on an 'Aldine italic volume, itself inspired by a Persian saddle book'.[69] Printed in red and black, the latter is the first Vale publication to use half borders. Ricketts himself made the borders for the Michael Field plays.[70] He also cut the initial letters and decorations, as well as designing the paper for the binding. After a fire at the printers' in 1899 destroyed his original blocks as well as electrotypes of the borders, initials, and other decorations, Ricketts lost interest in printing. Once he had finished his Shakespeare series, he destroyed the punches, matrices, and type.[71] The book world's loss was a gain for other arts. Ricketts went on to be a major theatre designer. He wrote fiction, continued to paint and sculpt, and became a respected art collector and critic.

A HALL IN THE house of Didius Cornelius & Abascantus watch while a number of Slaves arrange objects of art and luxury in full light.

CORNELIUS.

ALL BOUGHT FROM PERTINAX?

ABASCANTUS.

BUT SECRETLY. THE EMPEROR, IT WAS RUMOURED, SEt A TRAP

[31] Walter Crane (1845–1915). *Queen Summer: Or, the Tourney of the Lily & the Rose.* London; Paris; Melbourne: Cassell & Co. Ld., 1891.

Walter Crane's long career intersects with many artists, artistic movements, and political changes. The son of a portrait painter, Crane apprenticed under accomplished wood engraver William James Linton when he was just thirteen years old. Linton had high profile commissions, so Crane refined his skills on illustrations by Frederick Sandys (1809–1904), John Everett Millais, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, including the latter's landmark designs for *Goblin Market* (item 20). In the early 1870s, Crane became acquainted with William Morris and Edward Burne Jones, and began making decorative art and joining progressive causes. He became active in the socialist movement and made emblematic posters, cartoons, and banners for the cause, producing his best-known May Day image, *The Triumph of Labour,* in the same year that he wrote and designed *Queen Summer.* In keeping with the principles of total book design, Crane was responsible for every aspect of *Queen Summer.* He wrote the text and designed the illustrations, typography, endpapers, and the block-printed cloth binding. Initials and hand-lettering allude to the manuscript tradition, while the dark backgrounds on the title page and jousting spreads evoke Kelmscott designs. Art Nouveau symbols, such as the fan, peacock, and intertwining vines, frequently appear, but the colour scheme echoes the soft, natural palette of Arts and Crafts decoration. The verse narrative is a light-as-air fantasy with medieval suggestions of knights and ladies at a tournament. However, beneath some obvious floral references, the costumes of the characters are vaguely classical.

Beyond placing the story in the realm of fantasy, the incongruous but attractive combination of classical and medieval imagery refers to Crane's active interest in Dress Reform as Vice President of the Healthy and Artistic Dress Union (1890), an organisation, like the Rational Dress League, formed to promote appealing alternatives to the highly structured and confining clothing that predominated in late Victorian England. The corsets, stays, crinolines, and bustles featured in Victorian women's clothing were dangerously constricting and inhibited women from the free movement required for fashionable sports (such as tennis and golf) and emerging forms of transportation (such as riding bicycles or jumping on to an omnibus). As Inga Bryden remarks, Artistic Dress, named for its association with the women who sat for Pre-Raphaelite paintings,

Round Time's dial thronged the Hours
Masking in the Masque of Flowers
Like knights and ladies fair be-dight
In silk attire, both red and white.

was 'informed by the ideas of practical dress, emancipatory politics, and utopian ideals'.[72] Liberating women's bodies from constraining garments was inherently connected to emancipating their access to education, culture, travel, sport, and the right to employment. Medieval, Renaissance, and classical garments became typical reference points for reformers eager to promote natural waistlines and lighter fabrics. In practical terms, this meant that the weight of women's garments could be taken from the waist and 'suspended from the shoulders [. . .] by the fastening of skirts and under garments to bodices, or by the use of shoulder straps and the introduction of tunics'.[73] These features are reflected in the ladies' costumes in *Queen Summer*, which have flowing skirts that fold without crinolines, capes that drape from the shoulders, and various bodices designed to give shape without constricting movement. These designs, particularly the sashes and criss-cross bodice, are almost indistinguishable from the designs Crane advocated in his Artistic Dress writings.[74] *Queen Summer* is a fantasy, but the lightness and unstructured lines of the clothing in Crane's illustrations reflect his efforts to improve the real conditions of women in England.

Case 8: *Professional Women in the Book Trades*

[32] Christina Rossetti. *Goblin Market*. London: Macmillan, 1893.

Trained at the Arts and Crafts School and at Miller's Lane City and Guilds Art School, South Lambeth, Laurence Housman (1865–1959) began to model his work on D. G. Rossetti's illustrations after coming under the guidance of Charles Ricketts.[75] According to Housman, *Goblin Market* was a project he did 'of my own choice, author and publisher consenting'.[76] Housman's *Goblin Market* features a pictorial title page, a vignette on the half title, twelve plates, thirty-three decorative ornaments, and an exquisite olive cloth binding that had both dustjacket and endpapers to match its repeating gilt pattern of flowers coiled into undulating waves. The success of *Goblin Market* led to illustrative work for Housman in *The Yellow Book* and numerous contracts with John Lane (1854–1925) in the 1890s, until failing eyesight led the illustrator to turn to writing.

The engraving in *Goblin Market* and many of Laurence Housman's other books was performed by his sister, Clemence. The brother and sister moved to London in 1883 to escape a rigidly conservative childhood home. Both were committed to the women's suffrage movement and, from 1902, their household became the headquarters of the Suffrage Atelier, which produced placards and banners for suffrage demonstrations. It seems fitting, then, that the Fisher's copy of Housman's *Goblin Market* should have its illustrations hand coloured by Gloria Cardew of the Guild of Women Binders, as indicated by her printed label on flyleaf. Little is known about her. A contemporary writer who was reporting on the Guild's artisanal work singled out Cardew for special comment, remarking that she had a 'remarkable faculty for producing schemes of colour' that were 'harmonious, brilliant, and restrained, excelling in chasteness and delicacy': her professional skills are described as consistent with maidenly moral virtues.[77] The Guild of Women Binders (1898–1904) was established as a teaching institution and commercial outlet by an antiquarian bookseller named Frank

Carslake (1864–1917) who wanted to promote the talents of women whose work he had seen at an exhibition at Earl's Court in 1897.[78] With an Arts and Crafts focus on hand production and artisanal work, the Guild of Women Binders included members of the Chiswick Art Workers' Guild, the Edinburgh Social Union, and the Gentlewomen's Guild of Handicrafts.[79] Carslake's establishment provided its members with an opportunity for emancipating experience and a venue through which they could sell their work. The respect accorded to work performed by the Guild of Women Binders by members of the press and the book trade marks an advance in the social and professional possibilities for women at the *fin de siècle.*

[33] Laurence Housman. *Green Arras*. London: John Lane, 1896.

Laurence Housman spent much of the 1890s designing first editions of poetry for John Lane. At this time, he wrote short fiction, poetry, and his first novel, *Gods and Their Makers* (1897), also published by Lane. Housman's artwork made a valuable contribution to his publisher's business, and Lane was willing to put new authors into print. As Lorraine Janzen Kooistra observes, Lane managed to reach a wide, cross-class audience of opinionated and esoteric readers through a strategy of 'putting relatively unknown poets into a marketable and attractive package'.[80] He controlled his risk and, as Nicholas Frankel observes, by releasing very small editions he rather cunningly created an aura of rarity that would appeal to connoisseurs.[81] *Green Arras* is Housman's first work of poetry and is dedicated to his sister, Clemence Housman.

In keeping with the total book aesthetic, *Green Arras* features decorative initials, five illustrated pages, and colour-illustrated endpapers. Laurence's binding picks up on a detail from the frontispiece illustration, in a repeating pattern of gilt on

green cloth, the title appearing in a cartouche. It appears that he designed the exquisite two-page illustration which introduces *Green Arras* to pay homage to the extraordinary skill of Clemence Housman as a wood engraver: her talent is evident in the complex grapevine border, highly expressive human figures, and foliated backdrop of elaborately nuanced textures. Shadows, folds, layers, and depth celebrate the illustration's medium as a wood engraving, rejecting the high-contrast flatness of the process-block images that typified the Art Nouveau period. For an exceptionally talented wood carver, it is a virtuoso performance.

[34] Laurence Housman. *The Field of Clover.* London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1898.

Once again, in *The Field of Clover,* Laurence Housman provided an elaborate frontispiece illustration to exhibit his sister's skill and training at a time when it was becoming difficult for wood engravers to find employment. At Miller's Lane City and Guilds School in South Lambeth, Clemence Housman had studied engraving in one of the gender-segregated classrooms that were established under the Design Reform initiatives of Henry Cole; there, she was instructed

THE CROWN'S WARRANTY

FIVE hundred years ago or more a king died, leaving two sons: one was the child of his first wife, and the other of his second, who surviving him became his widow. When the king was dying he took off the royal crown which he wore, and set it upon the head of the elder born, the son of his first wife, and said to him: 'God is the lord of the air, and of the water, and of the dry land: this gift cometh to thee from God. Be merciful, over whatsoever thou holdest power, as God is!' And saying these words he laid his hands upon the heads of his two sons and died.

by Charles Roberts, who also trained Charles Ricketts, Charles Shannon, and Thomas Sturge Moore (1870–1944).[82] Clemence began her professional career in the mid-1880s, making unsigned wood blocks for weekly illustrated periodicals such as *The Graphic* and *The Illustrated London News*. When photo-mechanical process blocks, engraved on metal, became the dominant illustrative medium, Clemence was able to move to specialty presses. Her ability to find work at a time when wood engravers were in a 'desperate struggle' for 'survival in the commercial world' is an indication of her expertise.[83] James Guthrie (1874–1952), who founded the Pear Tree Press, observed that 'in technical range, no engraver has carried the art further'.[84] In Clemence's case, this artisanal excellence seemed to provide her with the confidence, independence, and professional authority that fitted her for political leadership. From 1908, Clemence was a leading member of the militant suffragist Women's Social and Political Union. She lived to see women granted the vote in 1918 and universal suffrage in 1928.

[35] Edmund Spenser (1552?–1599). *Poems*. London: Caxton Pub. Co., 19--.

Jessie Marion King (1875–1949) was a professional illustrator and designer whose career blossomed under the progressive gender politics of the Glasgow School of Art, where she studied from 1892 to 1899. In an environment where many students and teachers promoted suffrage and work for women, she became one of the 'Glasgow Girls', associated with members of the 'Glasgow School' of Art Nouveau. Within a year of graduation, she was teaching at her alma mater. An active member of The Glasgow Society of Lady Artists (founded 1882), which provided space for women artists to meet and exhibit, she married fellow artist Ernest Archibald Taylor (1874–1951) in 1908. The couple had a daughter in 1909 and moved to Paris in 1910. There, she moved in modernist artistic circles, continued to create illustrations, and began to experiment in *batik* printing. Settling in an artistic colony called Kirkcudbright in 1915, she taught art courses, mentored many successful artists, and continued to illustrate. King had a sociable and productive career producing some three hundred designs over sixty years, enviably unhampered by limitations of gender.

THE ISLANDS OF PHÆDRA AND ACRASIA

AND THEREIN SAT A LADY FRESH AND FAYRE
MAKING SWEET SOLACE TO HERSELFE ALONE
SOMETIMES SHE SONG AS LOWD AS LARKE IN AYRE
SOMETIMES SHE LAVGHED AS MERRY AS POPE JONE

Jessie King generally worked in pen and ink with watercolour on vellum, developing a style remarkable for arabesque forms and delicate details. King refused to draw from life: the proportional distortions that lend a surreal quality to her elongated figures stem from her choice to compose subjects from memory. King's illustrations impart considerable charm to this small edition of Spenser's *Poems,* edited by W. B. Yeats (1865–1939). The delicate lines, soft colours, and ethereal qualities of her images suit the remoteness and formality of Spenser's poetry.

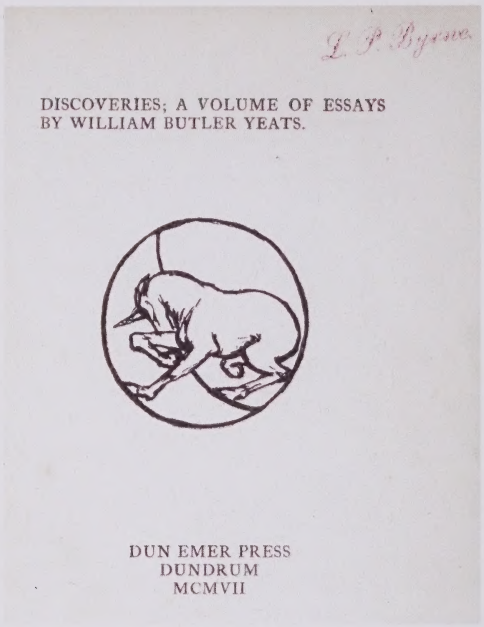
[36] Oscar Wilde. *The Harlot's House.* Boston: J. W. Luce, 1910.

This edition of *The Harlot's House* is illustrated by Margaret Alethea 'Althea' Gyles (1868–1949), an Irish artist, book-cover designer, and writer associated with W. B. Yeats. Gyles was trained at an art school in Dublin in the 1880s and then, after moving to London in the early 1890s, at Pedders and the Slade School. She produced striking compositions of sophisticated content in sinuous lines that were compared to the work of Aubrey Beardsley and Charles Ricketts. Although her talent was respected in Art Nouveau circles, Gyles suffered a physical and mental breakdown after a disastrous affair with publisher and pornographer Leonard Smithers (1861–1907), which took place while she completed work on *The Harlot's House.* Although she continued to produce verse and design work intermittently, she spent the rest of her life in poverty and obscurity.

Imitating the perspective of the poem's narrator as he peers with grim fascination at dancing figures through a bordello window, Gyles presents figures both stark and shadowy, veiled by tissue guards. Lines of the poem are printed in red on the semi-transparent leaves of tissue so that they become part of the composition. The reader who participates in the activity of turning the leaves of the book is implicated in the narrator's act of voyeurism. The elegant images combine with Gyles's sophisticated exploitation of the book's structural qualities to convey Wilde's decadent verse with exceptional directness.

" Sometimes a horrible marionette
Came out, and smoked its cigarette"

[37] William Butler Yeats. *Discoveries: A Volume of Essays*. Dundrum [Ire.]: Dun Emer Press, 1907.



[38] Susan Langstaff Mitchell (1866–1926). *Frankincense and Myrrh*. [Churchtown, Dundrum]: Cuala Press, [1912].

The Dun Emer Press and the Cuala Press were run by Elizabeth Corbet 'Lolly' Yeats, an Irish art teacher, typographer, and publisher who was also sister to W. B. Yeats.[85] The daughter of an Irish portrait artist, Yeats was associated with the Arts and Crafts movement through her sister, Susan Mary 'Lily' Yeats (1866–1949), who worked as an embroiderer under William Morris's daughter, Mary 'May' Morris (1862–1938) from 1888 to 1895. At the suggestion of Emery Walker, Elizabeth Yeats studied at the Women's Printing Society. Founded by Emily Faithfull and Emma Paterson (1848–1886), the Society ran an apprenticeship program that trained women compositors. In 1902, Yeats and her sister established Dun Emer as an Arts and Crafts workshop to train and employ local women in Dundrum, near Dublin, at the invitation of Irish nationalist and suffragist Evelyn Gleeson (1855–1944); Susan ran a needlework venture while Elizabeth Yeats opened the printing shop. After a falling out with Gleeson, the Yeats sisters opened Cuala Industries in 1908. Dun Emer and the Cuala Press were financed and 'run by a woman, employing only women, and designed to create work and economic independence for [. . .] working girls'.[86]

Cuala steadily produced two volumes each year, in editions of between one hundred and fifty and five hundred copies, despite wars, civil unrest, and economic depression, all on an Albion press.[87] In her lifetime, Elizabeth Yeats published seventy-seven volumes, all with Ireland as their subject matter.

Yeats was the first modern printer in Ireland to produce work made exclusively on a hand press. Both Dun Emer and Cuala books were notable for high literary quality, producing many central works of the Irish Literary Renaissance ('Celtic Twilight'). Although some volumes are illustrated with austere power by Jack Butler Yeats (1871–1957), Dun Emer and Cuala volumes emphasise pure typography, largely excluding other types of ornament. Often, the beauty of the typography is highlighted by alternations between black and red ink. The restrained aesthetic conceals the great care taken in the printing, with painstaking attention to details like spacing and margin size.[88] Yeats's limited editions were luxury books, characteristically plain but made to the highest standard.

Section II

BOOK ARTS AND THE LADY: READERS AND HOBBYISTS

Even before they found professional roles in the printing shops that made luxury books, women had always had a considerable influence on their format. As publishers began to issue albums in ready-made covers, women started to ornament the pages of blank books to complement their luxurious bindings. Publishers looked to women's handicrafts, particularly the curatorial practice of album keeping, to develop increasingly elaborate combinations of graphics and text, a format that brought an enormous amount of poetry and illustration to a wider audience than ever before.

Case 9: *Special Bindings*

Before the late 1820s, printed books were typically sold in temporary wrappers or as sets of sheets that the purchaser would have custom bound. This bespoke process provided book lovers with an opportunity to make any volume into a decorative or distinctive object. They could also insert additional materials before the book was sewn into a permanent binding, reformatting the mass-produced printed book into something unique. Special bindings continued to be used throughout the nineteenth century and, indeed, are available today. As the books in this case demonstrate, in the nineteenth century, special bindings were generally adopted for hobbyist and commemorative practices. By their contrast with the more specifically feminine and characteristically Victorian hobbyist practices on display, the long-standing practices of extra-illustration and special bindings are associated with male book owners.

[39] Francis Godolphin Waldron (1744–1818). *The Shakspearean Miscellany*. London: Knight and Compton, 1802.

This volume serves as a modest example of extra-illustration, a form of *bibliomania* that was fashionable from the 1780s until the 1840s.[89] Extra-illustration is a hobbyist practice which involves efforts to embellish a book with appropriate supplementary material, such as illustrations, maps, coins, ephemera, or diagrams. As Luisa Calè describes it, extra-illustration transforms a book into a unique object like 'a paper cabinet in which to arrange the [owner's] collection'.[90] Although simple marginalia might qualify as 'extra-illustration', this hobby tended to revolve around inserted ephemera, especially illustrations. It was especially popular during an era when supplementary printed material was readily available and, crucially, when books were typically purchased in temporary covers or as unbound sheets. Probably the most frequently grangerized book

ancient ones?—What have we, of this age, to compare with the pathos of *Othello*, and the ſublimity of *Macbeth?* nothing better than the mean, though moral, proſe of *Barnwell*; and the heavy, though affecting paſtoral of *Douglas*.

Having thus given a brief ſketch of the riſe and progreſs of the Engliſh Stage, till it had attained a legitimate form; it becomes neceſſary to ſpecify the early theatres: which, as it cannot be more accurately done, the reader is requeſted to take in the words of Mr. Malone.—Early in Queen Elizabeth's reign, the eſtabliſhed players of London began to act in temporary theatres conſtructed in the yards of inns; and about the year 1570, I imagine, one or two regular playhouſes were erected. Both the theatre in Blackfriars, and that in Whitefriars, were certainly built before 1580.—The moſt ancient Engliſh playhouſes, of which I have found any account, are, the playhouſe in *Blackfriars*, that in *Whitefriars*, *The Theatre*, of which I am unable to aſcertain the ſituation, and *The Curtain*, in Shoreditch. *The Theatre*, from its name, was probably the firſt building erected in or near the metropolis purpoſely for ſcenick exhibitions. In the time of Shakſpeare there were ſeven principal theatres; three private houſes, namely, that in *Blackfriars*, that in *Whitefriars*, and *The Cockpit* or *Phœnix*, * in Drury-lane; and four that were called publick theatres, viz. *The Globe*, on the Bank-ſide; *The Curtain*, in Shoreditch; *The Red Bull*, at the upper end of St. John's-ſtreet; and *The Fortune*, in Whitecroſs-ſtreet. The laſt two were chiefly frequented by citizens. There were, however, but ſix companies of comedians; for the playhouſe in *Blackfriars*, and *The Globe*, belonged to the ſame troop. Beſide theſe ſeven theatres, there were for ſome time on the Bank-ſide three other publick theatres; *The Swan*, *The Roſe*, and *The Hope*: but *The Hope* being uſed chiefly as a bear-garden, and *The Swan* and *The Roſe* having fallen to decay early in King James's reign, they ought not to be enumerated with the other regular theatres.

All the plays of Shakſpeare appear to have been performed either at *The Globe*, or at the theatre in *Blackfriars*. The theatre in *Blackfriars*

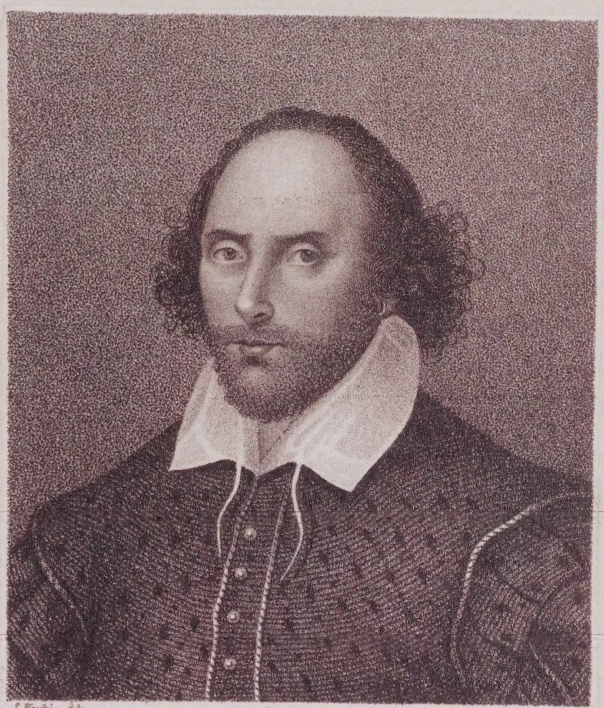
* The Cock-pit, or Phœnix in Drury Lane had originally been dedicated to the purpose denoted by it's first title, and derived it's second from the circumstance of the fabulous Bird, the Phœnix having been chosen for it's sign when it was convertted into a playhouse.. It was situated opposite the Castle Tavern, and there is still in existence a passage from Drury-Lane into Great Wild Street, called Cock-Pit Alley. Probably too, Phœnix-Alley, leading from Hart Long-acre into Hart Street, Covent Garden, derived it's title from the neighbouring Theatre....

On the 4th May 1617. the house was pulled down by the populace.. A mob of persons smitten with the love of morality, began to attack all Bagnios, and extended their reformation to this Theatre, which they demolished, many persons being killed & wounded by the falling of the Walls. It appears by a letter sent on the occasion by the Privy-Council to the Lord Mayor and Justices, that the mob consisted of many Thousands. The House was speedily rebuilt, and was one of those which escaped the fury of the Fanatics in 1648, as the performance of Plays was recommenced here, about the period of the Restoration,.....

The Red Bull, which probably was so called, from it's displaying a painting of that animal, as a sign, was a large House, standing on a plot of ground, called Red Bull Yard, near the Northern end of St John Street, Clerkenwell. This name, the place retained till towards the end of the last century, when it was christened Woodbridge Street. The land & tenements thereon, belonging to the town of Woodbridge in Suffolk.. It is a narrow, dirty avenue, the first turning on the left above Aylesbury Street. The appearance of the Building in it is extremely antiquated, but, as may be imagined, all traces of the Theatre have long disappeared..." The exact spot is occupied" says the Editor of the London Illustrata

* I have not been able &c &c.

One Evening when Richard 3rd was to be performed, Shakspere observed a young woman delivering a message to Burbage the Player, in so cautious a manner, as to excite his curiosity. It imputed that her master had gone out of town that morning, & her mistress would be glad of his company after the Play, and to know what signal he would appoint for admittance.. Burbage replied... "Three Taps at the door - and it is I, Richard the 3rd..."... She immediately withdrew, and Shakspere followed, till he observed her go into a house in the City, and enquiring in the Neighbourhood, he was informed that a young Lady lived there the favorite of a rich Merchant.. Near the appointed time of meeting, Shakspere thought proper to anticipate Burbage, and got into the Lady by the concerted Signal... The Lady was very much surprised at



S. Harding delin. Le Geux Sculp.

SHAK SPEARE

From an original Picture in the Possession of the late Duke of Chandois.

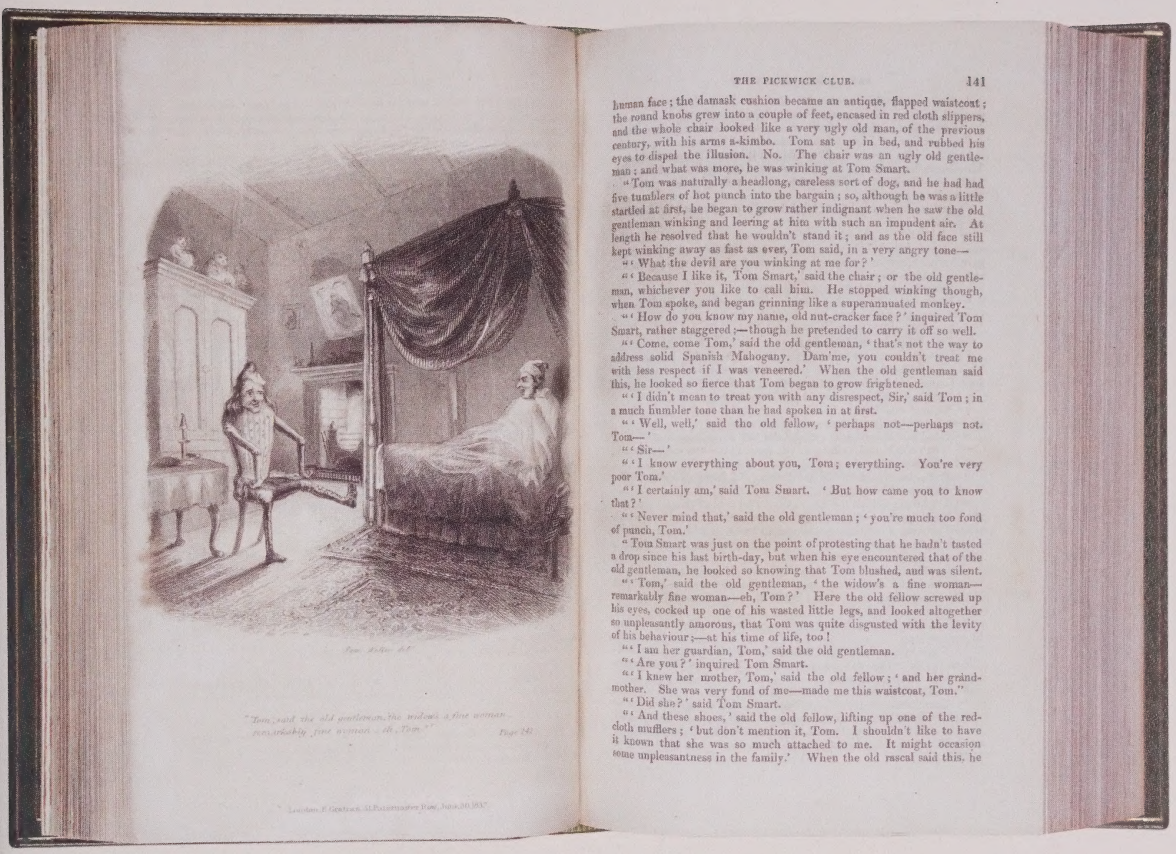
Shakspere's presumption, but as he did not want wit or eloquence to apologise for the intrusion, she was soon pacified.. Burbage came soon after, to the house and wheeled the signal, but Shakspere popping his head out of the window, did him be gone; for that William the Conqueror reigned before Richard the 3rd.....

was the Bible, because so much thematically appropriate secondary material was available.[91] Shakespeare's works were also popular with extra-illustrators for similar reasons, as this copy of *The Shakspearean Miscellany* demonstrates. It bears the signature of George Daniel (1789–1864), a Grub Street writer of satiric poetry and reviews. George Daniel's grangerized *Miscellany* contains extensive manuscript notes as well as inserted letters, play-bills, poems, newspaper clippings, forty portraits, sixteen plates, and plans. Beyond 'enlivening' Waldron's text with visual material, Daniel's contributions provide a scholarly gloss and preserve rare ephemera. Daniel probably began collecting early editions of Shakespeare (including a first folio) and theatrical curiosities when he edited a thirty-nine volume series on British theatre, covering most of Shakespeare's works.[92] As Lucy Peltz observes, extra-illustrated books became a 'genre of luxury book that had itself became an object of collecting', and, so, Daniel's copy of Waldron's *Miscellany* has been preserved.[93]

In the nineteenth century, extra-illustration tended to be practiced by men because it was associated with collecting and antiquarianism.[94] Amassing interesting materials for custom bindings required personal control over significant resources, a degree of financial autonomy that has often eluded women. As late as 1895, William Roberts could confidently avow that English women were, 'as book-collectors or bibliophiles, an almost unknown quantity'.[95] Although some women, especially widows with large incomes, engaged in extra-illustration, they were anomalous and tended to provoke hostility among male grangerisers eager to protect their territory. Women were not taken seriously as connoisseurs in the early nineteenth-century, so they tended to be excluded from antiquarian practices.[96] Rather than elaborating on the form of the luxury book through its binding or covers, women hobbyists would prove to be influential in beautifying the inner contents of books in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

[40] Charles Dickens (1812–1870). *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1837.

Like almost all of Dickens's fiction, *Pickwick* first appeared in serialized form. It was issued in one-shilling monthly parts that readers could purchase, collect, and, when the series was complete, assemble in a permanent binding. This



THE PICKWICK CLUB. 141

human face; the damask cushion became an antique, flapped waistcoat; the round knobs grew into a couple of feet, encased in red cloth slippers, and the whole chair looked like a very ugly old man, of the previous century, with his arms a-kimbo. Tom sat up in bed, and rubbed his eyes to dispel the illusion. No. The chair was an ugly old gentleman; and what was more, he was winking at Tom Smart.

"Tom was naturally a headlong, careless sort of dog, and he had had five tumblers of hot punch into the bargain; so, although he was a little startled at first, he began to grow rather indignant when he saw the old gentleman winking and leering at him with such an impudent air. At length he resolved that he wouldn't stand it; and as the old face still kept winking away as fast as ever, Tom said, in a very angry tone—

"'What the devil are you winking at me for?'

"'Because I like it, Tom Smart,' said the chair; or the old gentleman, whichever you like to call him. He stopped winking though, when Tom spoke, and began grinning like a superannuated monkey.

"'How do you know my name, old nut-cracker face?' inquired Tom Smart, rather staggered;—though he pretended to carry it off so well.

"'Come, come Tom,' said the old gentleman, 'that's not the way to address solid Spanish Mahogany. Dam'me, you couldn't treat me with less respect if I was veneered.' When the old gentleman said this, he looked so fierce that Tom began to grow frightened.

"'I didn't mean to treat you with any disrespect, Sir,' said Tom; in a much humbler tone than he had spoken in at first.

"'Well, well,' said the old fellow, 'perhaps not—perhaps not. Tom—'

"'Sir—'

"'I know everything about you, Tom; everything. You're very poor Tom.'

"'I certainly am,' said Tom Smart. 'But how came you to know that?'

"'Never mind that,' said the old gentleman; 'you're much too fond of punch, Tom.'

"Tom Smart was just on the point of protesting that he hadn't tasted a drop since his last birth-day, but when his eye encountered that of the old gentleman, he looked so knowing that Tom blushed, and was silent.

"'Tom,' said the old gentleman, 'the widow's a fine woman—remarkably fine woman—eh, Tom?' Here the old fellow screwed up his eyes, cocked up one of his wasted little legs, and looked altogether so unpleasantly amorous, that Tom was quite disgusted with the levity of his behaviour;—at his time of life, too!

"'I am her guardian, Tom,' said the old gentleman.

"'Are you?' inquired Tom Smart.

"'I knew her mother, Tom,' said the old fellow; 'and her grandmother. She was very fond of me—made me this waistcoat, Tom."

"'Did she?' said Tom Smart.

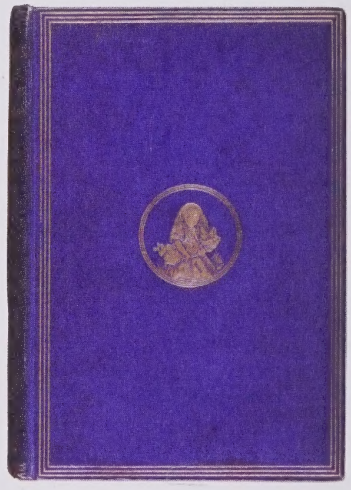
"'And these shoes,' said the old fellow, lifting up one of the red-cloth mufflers; 'but don't mention it, Tom. I shouldn't like to have it known that she was so much attached to me. It might occasion some unpleasantness in the family.' When the old rascal said this, he

intervening stage, between purchase of the text and binding into permanent covers, provided an opportunity to add supplementary material. The extra-illustration of Dickens's works departs, however, from the aristocratic, antiquarian associations of the practice. Whereas early grangerising was distinguished by research-intensive *connoisseurship*, Dickensian extra-illustration is a matter of commodification. As Luisa Calè reports, publishers recognized a merchandising opportunity in the popularity of *Pickwick*.[97] Various artists designed sets of extra-illustrations to accompany Dickens's novel, amplifying rather than replacing the original serialized engravings.[98] Dickens's publishers, Chapman and Hall, advertised these supplementary sets of illustrations at the ends of the serialized parts, even though they were produced by competitors.

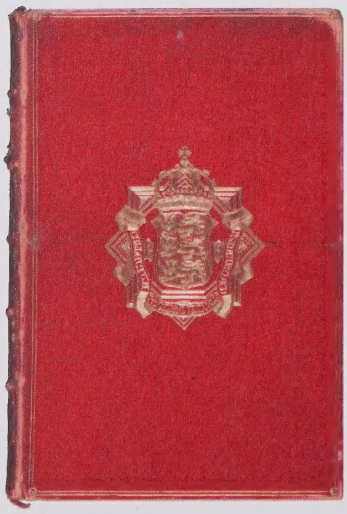
Although sketches by an additional illustrator might normally be disruptive to the established style of the text, *Pickwick* already featured illustrations drawn by three different artists: after the suicide of Robert Seymour (1798–1836), who had originally been hired to make the sporting prints at the heart of the story,

Robert William Buss (1804–1875) had contributed two sketches for the second installment; unhappy with Buss's work, the publishers hired Hablot K. Browne ('Phiz') (1815–1882) to complete the book. The assembled nature of the work seems to allow for the insertion of additional prints, with supplementary plates that bear the names of their publishers and illustrators. Although the opportunity to enhance the bound volume had an appeal, the ready-made nature of such illustrated sets eliminated the thrill of the hunt for apposite images and the antiquarian prestige of acquiring them. In their replacement of the hobbyist's activities, they are a sign of the decline of grangerising as a popular hobby.

[41, 42, 43] Lewis Carroll. *Aventures d'Alice au pays des merveilles*. London: Macmillan, 1869.

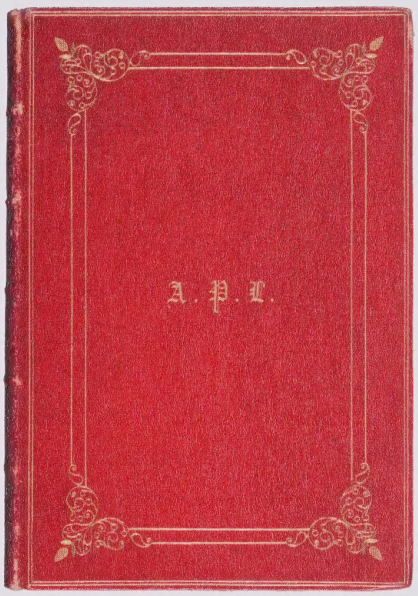


Even after books began to be issued in ready-made publishers' covers, special circumstances prompted the use of special bindings. During the nineteenth century, books might be bound to maintain uniformity in a collection or to mark occasions. For example, the Fisher Library's Brabant collection holds several copies of the first edition of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* in French, and two of these have been bound as a compliment to their recipients. In these cases, special binding transforms a mass-produced object into a keepsake.



The first specially bound copy of the French *Alice* is a prize book, presumably meant to be awarded to a student for excellence in French. Although the publisher issued the book in blue cloth, this prize book has been bound in red calf and tooled with a school crest on the front cover, along with other decorative devices, in gold. The gilt dentelle detailing on the turn-ins and the marble

endpapers are luxurious details that indicate the prestige of the prize or the school. The school's motto, *Collegium Reginae Victoriae Caesariense*, enables identification of the institution that awarded the book as Victoria College, an all-boys preparatory school established in 1852 and located in St. Helier, Jersey (Channel Islands). For the student awarded this book, the prize binding would transform the book into a token of his accomplishment, and a souvenir of his school days.



In addition to a prize binding, the Fisher holds a specially bound 'presentation copy' of the first edition of the French *Alice*. Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, the figure behind the Lewis Carroll pseudonym, had the copy specially bound for Alice Pleasance Liddell (1852–1934), the story's inspiration and original audience. When a rift between Dodgson and the Liddell family ended his friendship with the children in June 1863, Dodgson's *Alice* stories became a surrogate for his friendship with Alice. By the time Macmillan published *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, three years after the boating expedition when the story originated, Dodgson's breach with the Liddells was practically complete. Yet Dodgson continued to express his affection for Alice through custom bound presentation copies of his writing. Although he no longer spent time with Alice, he was able to pay tribute to their friendship through this series of gifts. Dodgson sent *Aventures d'Alice au pays des merveilles* (1869) to Alice when she was seventeen. It was bound by J. B. Hawes of Cambridge in a red goat skin panel binding with gothic monogram initials 'A. P. L.' on the upper board in gilt. On the half title, Dodgson wrote 'Alice Pleasance Liddell from the Author'. The presentation copy is a discreet but touching instance of a writer using a book to communicate when direct connections have been lost, and the souvenir of an unparalleled shared experience between an author and his muse. Alice Liddell Hargreaves kept Dodgson's extraordinary gifts to her until she was seventy-six, when she was forced to sell them to cover expenses after her husband's death.

Case 10: *Manuals on Art and the Book Arts*

Before the early nineteenth century, it was unusual for women to have access to art instruction, but in the Regency period it became fashionable for young ladies of the upper and middle classes to learn how to draw, paint, and engage in a variety of ornamental and illustrative arts. According to Charlotte Yeldham, the 'craze' in arts instruction was so noticeable that it became the subject of public debate.[99] Typical 'accomplishment painting' subjects included landscapes, still-life (especially floral) arrangements, and portraits; however, young English ladies were forbidden to depict figures, clothed or otherwise, a prohibition used to justify barring women from classes at the Royal Academy until 1860. Lessons were provided by governesses, girls' schools, or drawing masters, but manuals could supplement these, or take their place for students who could not afford to pay for personal instruction.

[44] James Roberts. *Introductory Lessons, with Familiar Examples in Landscape, for the Use of Those Who Are Desirous of Gaining Some Knowledge of the Pleasing Art of Painting in Water Colours.* London: Bulmer, 1800.

The son of a landscape engraver, James Roberts was best known as a portrait painter. He also had experience as a drawing master, which provided the foundation for *Introductory Lessons*, published both in 1800 and 1809. Roberts is clearly concerned to address a largely female audience, although his title does not specify the reader's gender and he uses the generic 'he' to describe his reader. In his preface, Roberts insists that his manual is designed for amateurs, listing women painters by name as examples:

20 INTRODUCTORY LESSONS.

but as I do not pretend to literary distinction, I must request permission to ramble, provided I do not lose myself, or bewilder my fellow-travellers: I not only wish to give my young pupils some easy rules for the mechanical part of the Art, but I also wish to open their minds, and make them *think*.

The study of Nature is adapted to all persons and situations; and even those whose avocations prevent them from handling the pencil, will find a perpetual source of rational amusement, in being capable of tasting the beauties of Nature, and the many excellent specimens of Art which adorn this country.

I fervently hope that the scholar (if he can command his time) will not rest contented with being a cold and servile copyist, but that he will, in due time, endeavour to imitate Nature with taste and originality.

To proceed:—it will be readily perceived that the penciling is *still* continued in the last sketch, as usual. The process differs very little from the former studies; with this exception, there is *no Indian ink* in the *remotest* distance. Distant objects should be very delicately penciled, then a pale wash of indigo, repeated where it may be necessary: the delicate tone of the black-lead pencil *under* the indigo, will suffice for the distances: the buildings, trees, rocks, weeds, in and near the fore-ground, are washed, and smartly touched with Cologne earth. It is a very beautiful dark brown, perfectly durable, and works extremely free and pleasant.

I hope that the youngest students, who honour this work with their attention, can now conceive the various methods already pointed out; I shall therefore venture to give them some subjects for colouring, which (with a few subsequent observations) will close my labours.

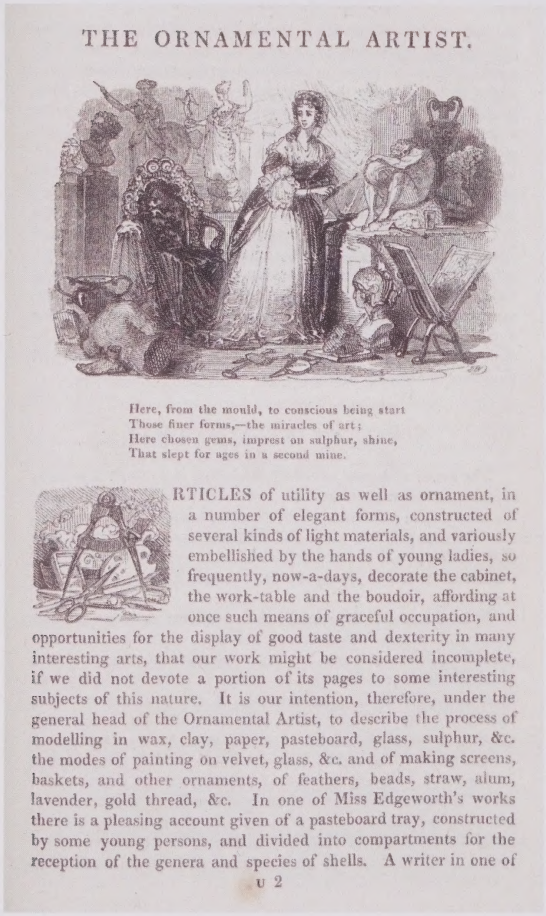
I shall annex the colours and materials necessary for our ensuing

COLOURS.
Light Ochre
Orange Orpiment
Raw Terra di Sienna
Gamboge
Light Red
Red Lead
Lake
Prussian blue
Indigo
Burnt Terra di Sienna
Vandyck Brown
Cologn Earth
Indian Ink
Lake and Indigo or Prussian Blue make Purple
Light ober Gam: Indigo make a Pale Green
Gamboge and Indigo make a brilliant Green
Raw Terra di Sienna and Indigo make a fine Olive Green
Burnt Terra di Sienna and Indigo make an Olive Green
Indian Ink Indigo & Gamboge make a very dark Green
The colour commonly called the Aerial Tint is made with Lake Indigo and Raw Terra de Sienna. N.º 2
Another tint is compounded of Burnt Terra de Sienna Indigo and Lake. N.º 2
Either of these two mixtures are very serviceable for distances
Some persons Local Colour with the Aerial tint only in that case Indian Ink must be omitted.

[. . .] we have several examples of amateurs, in the higher classes, whose spirited performances would not disgrace the professional artist. The sweet designs of Lady Diana Beauclerc, and Countess Spencer, in that most arduous branch of the art, Historical Composition, will justify a more favourable translation [than 'Dabbler']. In flower painting, her royal highness Princess Elizabeth, has executed specimens which would be creditable to the name of Mrs. Lloyd, late Miss Moser. The Countesses of Harrington, Warwick, Viscountess Clifden, Miss Finch, Mrs. Butler (late Miss Hester Lushington) &c. &c. in the various departments of Landscape, Figures, Flowers, &c. have exhibited specimens of the art, which do honour to this enlightened and highly polished age.[100]

His lessons continue in this tone, addressed conversationally in an attitude of genial respect for the reader's potential as he introduces a series of increasingly complex drawing and painting exercises.

[45] *The Young Lady's Book: A Manual of Elegant Recreations, Exercises, and Pursuits*. London: Vizetelly, Branston & Co., 1829.



THE ORNAMENTAL ARTIST.

Here, from the mould, to conscious being start
Those finer forms,—the miracles of art;
Here chosen gems, impress on sulphur, shine,
That slept for ages in a second mine.

ARTICLES of utility as well as ornament, in a number of elegant forms, constructed of several kinds of light materials, and variously embellished by the hands of young ladies, so frequently, now-a-days, decorate the cabinet, the work-table and the boudoir, affording at once such means of graceful occupation, and opportunities for the display of good taste and dexterity in many interesting arts, that our work might be considered incomplete, if we did not devote a portion of its pages to some interesting subjects of this nature. It is our intention, therefore, under the general head of the Ornamental Artist, to describe the process of modelling in wax, clay, paper, pasteboard, glass, sulphur, &c. the modes of painting on velvet, glass, &c. and of making screens, baskets, and other ornaments, of feathers, beads, straw, alum, lavender, gold thread, &c. In one of Miss Edgeworth's works there is a pleasing account given of a pasteboard tray, constructed by some young persons, and divided into compartments for the reception of the genera and species of shells. A writer in one of

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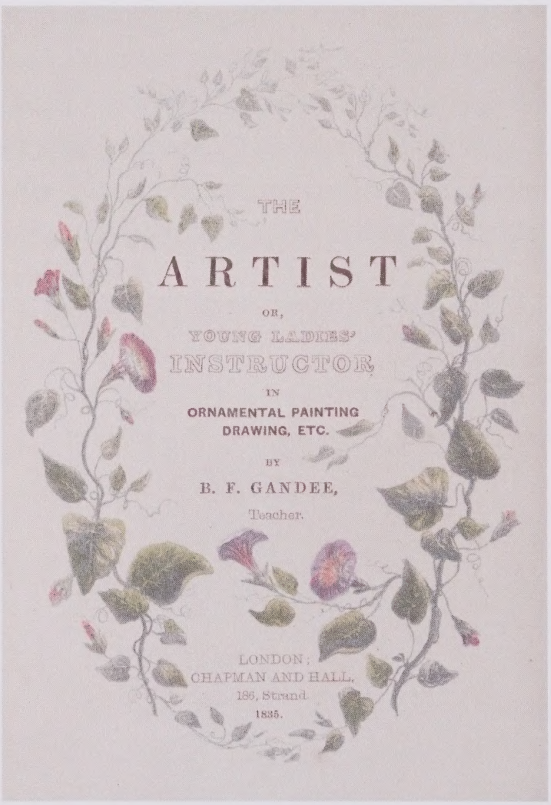
Typical of a vast body of conduct literature that first emerged in the latter half of the eighteenth century to prescribe the proper behaviour and pursuits of the ideal girl, *The Young Lady's Book* covers conventional topics such as 'Moral Deportment', archery, riding, letter-writing, music, dancing, and embroidery. It is profusely illustrated with wood-engraved ornaments, initials, diagrams, and illustrations. The chapter devoted to painting, the attainment 'best adapted to the female mind', gives practical advice on colours and proportions as well as a long, separate section on the science of perspective.[101] The volume's attention to science, particularly the taxonomies of 'Conchology', 'Mineralogy', 'Entomology', and the 'Aviary', gives *The Young Lady's Book* a decidedly progressive twist, as do the modish craft practices discussed in the chapter on 'The Ornamental Artist'. Here, among instructions on modelling (in clay and wax), stencilling (in flat colour on 'Poonah' paper), and painting on special surfaces (velvet, glass), young lady readers 'desirous of multiplying impressions of their drawings' are instructed in 'the recently-introduced art of Lithography'.[102] The writer suggests that the printing technique's highly specialised tools were widely accessible, remarking that stones and crayons could 'be obtained from the lithographic printers', and that, 'when the drawing is finished, the stone is to be sent to the person from whom it was obtained, with an order to print as many

impressions as the artist may desire'.[103] Although additional training through specialised manuals is recommended, the chapter avers that the amateur's mastery of lithography is attainable due to the 'extreme care and delicacy' of the lady reader.

[46] Benjamin Frederick Gandee (1801/1806–1885). *The Artist, or, Young Ladies' Instructor in Ornamental Painting, Drawing, etc.* London: Chapman & Hall; Richmond: The Author, [1835].



Despite its educational purpose, *The Young Ladies' Instructor* is so attractively produced that it could serve gift and display functions. Its frontispiece and additional title page provide lovely examples of the colour printing technology devised by George Baxter (1804–1867) between 1829 and 1835, when he obtained a patent for chromoxylography. As Ruari Mclean describes it, Baxter devised an extremely complex method of printing by letterpress in coloured oil inks on wood blocks, building up impressively rich hues in a series of ten to thirty printings.[104] The announcement of an explicitly female audience in Gandee's title indicates the emerging tendency for young ladies of fashion to learn painting and other 'high' arts. The projected reader's modesty is accommodated by presenting lessons as a series of dialogues between two sisters and their mother. Notably, among the styles that Gandee covers are methods of painting that imitate print illustration: as well as Grecian Painting and Japan Painting, 'Mezzotinting' is described. The assumption that

Gandee's students would be strictly amateurs is indicated by the extent of the volume dedicated to domestic handicrafts, such as flower stands, match cups, paper screens, baskets, writing folios, and card racks.

[47] Theodore Henry Fielding (1781–1851). *On Painting in Oil and Water Colours*. London: For the author by Ackermann, 1839.

T. H. Fielding came from a family of painters: his father was a respected portrait artist, and his four younger brothers all became artists as well. In 1819, he married Mary Ann Walton (d. 1835), a painter of flowers, birds, and insects, whose father, brother, and sister were also artists; she was elected a lady member of the Society of Painters in Water Colours two years later. From 1825, he taught at the East India Company's military college at Addiscombe. Adept at line engraving, aquatint, and stipple, Theodore Fielding wrote a series of books on artistic theory and practice between 1829 and 1847.

On Painting in Oil and Water Colours was produced in the middle of Fielding's writing career and was enlarged several times (1836, 1839, 1842) after its first publication in 1835. Fielding illustrates his lessons with ten aquatint plates, four of which are hand coloured; because aquatint produces areas of tone rather than lines, as in conventional etching, the technique is particularly appropriate to his discussion of 'layered painting'. Fielding addresses a reader who is familiar with major artists and their work, but who may be an absolute beginner in practice. His tone is formal but direct and respectful, despite his reader's potential inexperience. Noticeably, on several occasions, he defers to the expertise of women artists. For example, Fielding cites the writings of 'Mrs. Calcot' (Maria Callcott, nee Graham, 1785–1842) as an authority on varnishes.[105] He describes the finishing techniques of 'an amiable and highly talented female artist' who was able to achieve 'extraordinary brilliancy' in her colours; this unnamed lady's subject matter of 'flowers, fruit, insects, &c' very likely identifies her as his wife, who died the year *On Painting* was published.[106] Similarly, he notes that 'one of the best flower painters in oils of the present day' is a lady.[107] The lady reader who follows Fielding's advice is, thus, encouraged that she can achieve excellent results, regardless of her gender.

Case 11: *Ladies' Albums*

Ladies' albums fit into the tradition of commonplacing, a scholarly practice reaching back to classical rhetoric wherein a handwritten notebook was used to record miscellaneous extracts from different authors, usually organised under topical headings as 'a study aid, an extension of the compiler's memory, or a source of ornamentation for the compiler's own writing'.[108] After mass-produced, bound books with blank pages became increasingly available, album-keeping emerged as a decorative, sociable hobby. As their name, deriving from the Latin *albus* (white), suggests, albums were blank books. They typically contain images as well as text, and often include samples of other handicrafts, such as needlework, flower pressing, or paper cutting. They might also house laid-in objects that provide evidence of collecting or souvenirs of travel and personally important events. Unlike commonplace books, sketch books, or journals, the highly varied contents of ladies' albums exhibit the gendered customs of their creators.[109]

Not to be confused with diaries or personal journals, ladies' albums had a social function and were meant to be viewed. In format, a 'nineteenth-century album was an elegant folio or quarto-sized blank book'; they were mass produced between 1820 and 1870, 'when smaller, pocket-sized "autograph books" mostly replaced them'.[110] Ladies' albums are often bound in rich covers, indicating their use as display objects. Samantha Matthews summarises,

> The album began life as a blank luxury gift-book, connoting aspiration to fashionable elite social circles, elegant accomplishments, and a surplus of leisure time. It was marketed as a keepsake [. . .] and became a material remembrance of relationships and memories particular to the individual owner and her social network.[111]

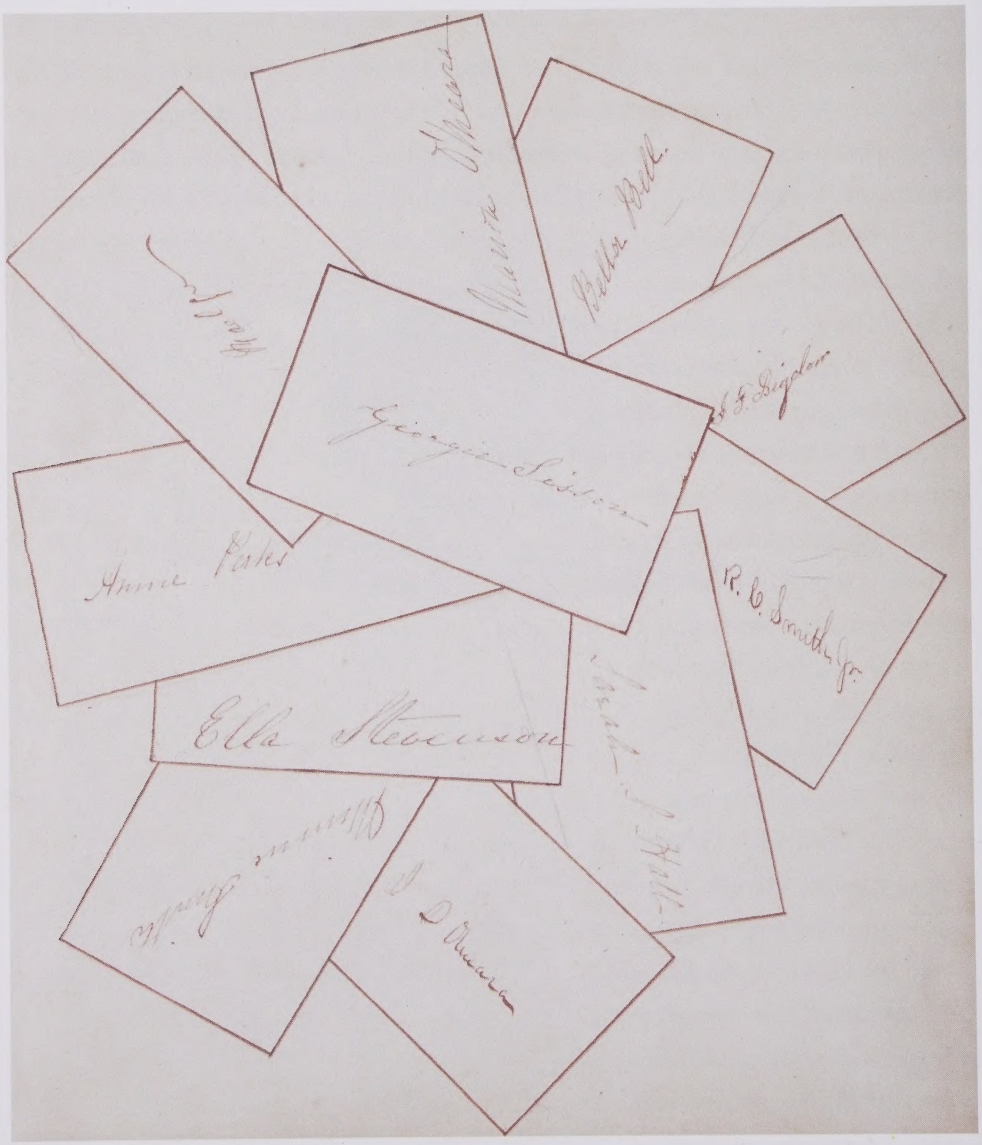
Although they belonged to private spaces (homes), albums were not personal in the manner of diaries. Patrizia di Bello notes that albums fit into a conception of the home as an area to exhibit women's subjectivity and accomplishments, which would highlight the financial success of their husbands in providing them with leisure.[112] An album's subject matter was typically domestic, and invariably suitable for viewing in a social circle.

[48] Sarah Welch. [Album]. [England: 1834–1868].

While many ladies' albums feature quotations or snippets of poetry, Sarah Welch favours historical notes and trivia, likely indicating a social (rather than pedagogical) purpose behind her assembly of this album. Although there are occasional contributions from friends and family, most of this album seems to display Sarah's painting, writing, and collecting. Aside from text and images, various items have been mounted, tipped in, and laid in. Printed cards and pressed flowers appear to be souvenirs, but there are many impressive examples of Sarah's skills on display: among these are a humorous hunting scene in needlepoint and a collection of delightfully intricate papercut lacework. There are numerous ephemeral portraits which have been coloured in by hand. There are also some creative drawings, such as a silhouette of 'Mrs. Pry' and a charming group of dancing musical notes. The skills on display

in such an album were signifiers of refinement, leisure, and good taste because they required cultivation. Making a blank album beautiful or impressive required a significant investment of time, incorporating elements that had to be made with care and could not be acquired commercially. The album owner's efforts personalised a mass-made object, on occasion turning it into art.

[49] Margaret Welsh. [Album]. [England: 1834–1868].



Whereas the album of Sarah Welch displayed its owner's accomplishments, Margaret Welsh's album includes many notes by friends or games that involve them. Here, a greater number of hands seem to have written the entries. The interest in holograph signatures anticipates the emergence of albums entirely devoted to collecting autographs later in the century. An *album amicorum* became more valuable as its owner increasingly altered it from its original blank form to become a collection of signatures and excerpts. If the albums of the previous generation, devoted to the display of personal accomplishments, were a way of presenting an image of the self to the world, then these objects of exchange are very much a means of social positioning. As Samantha Matthews explains, 'social models of album-keeping', were more common than private albums, with 'content generated by offering the book to family, friends, and acquaintances for contributions' and each entry memorialising a social event.[113] This kind of *album amicorum* is closely tied to the courtship period of a young woman's life.[114] Amanda Watson notes that, much like yearbooks and scrapbooks, friendship albums were 'designed to collect contributions from friends, and tended to include short quotations and original verses, along with drawings, mementoes, and the signatures of the friends in question'.[115] Much less personal effort went into the decoration of the pages, which became, instead, a testament to the album owner's social success.

[50] Grace Cripps. 'Scrapbook'. [Rawal Pindi, India: 1861–1880].

Although Grace Cripps's manuscript collection has been catalogued as a 'scrapbook', its content is very similar to Sarah Welch's album. Souvenirs and treasures are laid and pasted in alongside sketches, paintings, and craftwork. As Anne Higonnet observes, the physical form of the album helped women who wanted to create art overcome practical constraints:

> Women rarely had access to studios, academic courses, large canvases, and paid human models—the expensive and cumbrous equipment of professional art. Many, though, could obtain paper, pencil or watercolors, and sit outside, their work balanced on their knees. Inside, a small table in the parlor sufficed.[116]

Albums were portable objects: easy to carry, with many leaves to provide a significant artistic outlet. They reflect feminine accomplishments and class privilege, for instance the skills derived from a good drawing master, the tasteful display of travel souvenirs, the traditional aristocratic lady's practice of embroidery, or experimentation in domestic handicrafts. With their assemblage of different media, often on the same page, to create a collage effect, albums resemble personalised, miniature museums or galleries, and are associated with aristocratic collecting practices. In the album of Grace Cripps, there are abundant traces of colonial life, tourist curiosity, and imperial privilege, in addition to evidence of significant skill in composition and sketching.

Case 12: *The Language of Flowers*

Victorian preoccupations with taxonomy and natural history elaborated traditions of floriography into a popular enthusiasm for the 'language of flowers', wherein specific meanings were associated with various blooms. Typically, language-of-flowers books contained floral verse and a bi-directional 'dictionary' of flowers (with, for example, a listing for 'honeysuckle' given the meaning 'constancy') and sentiments (such as 'modesty' signified by 'violets'). Based on metaphor, onomatopoeia, and whimsy, definitions could vary wildly from one source to another. Beverly Seaton observes that there is little evidence that Victorians adopted the language of flowers in any practical way, but such books were very popular. [117] Floral dictionaries are of interest because they tended to have decorative elements related to their subject matter, such as ornamental bindings and colour plates, which embody technological developments. As well, like art manuals, these guides to the language of flowers provide insight into the practices of women artists. Until 1866, School of Design regulations forbade women to engage in figural drawing (even of clothed figures), but art school curricula and prizes encouraged women to paint flowers.[118] In this context of gendered restrictions, guides to the language of flowers served as reference books for women hobbyists and professionals making albums, manuscripts, and other decorative objects.

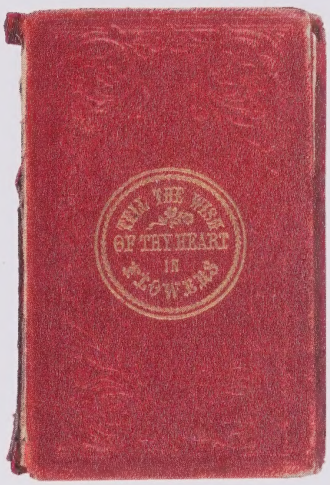
[51] M. A. Bacon (fl. 1839–1870, d. 1875). *Flowers and Their Kindred Thoughts*. London: Longman & Co., 1848.

The daughter of a liberal newspaper owner, Mary Ann Bacon was frequently an uncredited contributor to her father's periodical publications. She produced several volumes of verse in collaboration with Owen Jones, including *Fruits from the Garden* (1850) and *Winged Thoughts* (1851), as well as *Flowers and Their Kindred Thoughts*. There is no floral dictionary in this volume, but its

Dianthus

fourteen poems describe various flowers, centring on the idea or virtue conventionally attributed to them in the language of flowers. Each poem is presented in calligraphic lettering with floral borders and accompanied by a full-page colour illustration depicting the described flower and giving the ascribed characteristic as its title.

[52] *The Language and Poetry of Flowers*. Halifax, Eng.: Milner and Sowerby, 1860.



The paratextual features of this anonymously authored floriography guide suggest its social function. The pocket-sized format and organisation into alphabetical sections indicate its intended use as a reference, but it also bears the decorative features of a gift book. In addition to a chromolithographed frontispiece, it boasts an attractive binding that features two female figures on the spine and a gilt-blocked injunction to 'Tell the Wish of Thy Heart in Flowers' on the upper cover. As a 'sentimental taxonomy', the language of flowers was a highly specialised code, restricted not just in the signs that it used (flowers and plants) but also in a 'semantic range [. . .] referring to interpersonal relations'. [119] Much like the exchange of gifts, the language of flowers was an indirect mode of expressing intimate feelings that provided relief in a culture that strictly regulated self-expression and courtship.

[53] Madame Constantine. *The Language of Flowers*. London: J. Dicks, 1867.

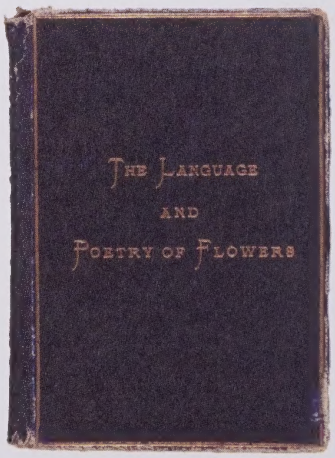
Unlike its more luxurious counterparts in this case, this rather plain floral dictionary was part of an inexpensive series of 'Bow Bells Handy Books', etiquette and instruction books published by John Thomas Dicks (1818–1881). The series title,

referring to the bells of Bow Church in East London, indicates the working-class status of the women who formed its readership and might use its directories to make profitable artworks.

[54] *The Poetry of Flowers: An Alphabet of Floral Emblems.* London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1872.

The function of this floral 'alphabet' book as a gift is signalled in its special binding: named for the town in which the technique originated, 'Mauchline ware' bindings are made of wood that has been decorated and then heavily varnished. In this case, ferns have been used as a stencil, with a brown stipple applied around the fronds. Ferns were very fashionable after the Great Exhibition, a 'mania' that peaked in the decade during which this volume was published.[120]

[55] *The Language and Poetry of Flowers: With Floral Illuminations Printed in Colours and Gold.* London: M. Ward, 1881.



This specimen has a literary emphasis, with more than one hundred pages of short verse by mostly canonical poets appearing before a bidirectional dictionary is provided. It is ornamented with two chromolithographed plates, several wood-engraved head and tailpieces, and an elegantly blocked cloth binding.

[56] Kate Greenaway. *Language of Flowers*. London: F. Warne, 1921?

The daughter of a draughtsman and wood engraver, Kate Greenaway showed artistic talent at a young age and studied at the Finsbury School of Art, the women's department of the School of Art in South Kensington, the Heatherley School of Fine Art, and the Slade School at University College, London. Greenaway's first book, *Under the Window* (1879) established her popularity and style, characterised by images of girls in Regency dress playing in rural settings. As a gift book, *Language of Flowers* was a natural sequel to Greenaway's success designing valentines and Christmas cards. John Ruskin complained to her that, 'There is no joy and very, very little interest in any of these Flower book subjects, and they look as if you had nothing to paint them with but starch and camomile tea'.[121] On the contrary, Greenaway's publisher, Edmund Evans (1826–1905) managed to achieve very subtle hues through chromoxylography, and 'interest' in Greenaway's style kept the book in print through more than sixty editions.

Case 13: *Annuals*

Aristocratic ladies' albums were so popular that publishers began using innovative technology to imitate their appealing layout in heavily ornamented 'annuals'. Literary annuals were collections of poetry and engraved illustrations that were sold as series, once each year, in the months preceding Christmas.[122] They were given, primarily, to women as gifts and prominently featured women as their contributors and editors. From the appearance of the first English annual, *Forget Me Not*, in November 1822, they were very popular and became a dominant genre of the 1830s. Annuals put an enormous quantity of poetry and illustration into print, and into the hands of a mass audience.

Many annuals were edited by women and featured a large proportion of women contributors. Prizing a genteel source of income, women writing for annuals made an effort to affirm their own respectability, reinforcing contemporary definitions of femininity.[123] The effort to construct a new kind of mass audience inevitably shaped and constrained the kinds of literature that the annuals printed. Because part of their function was domestic display, literary annuals favoured family-friendly poetry, a tameness in content that provoked derision among novelists and reviewers, and projected the reader as an innocent, simple-minded young woman. In respect of the gendered norms that associated 'imaginative' literature (novels, light poetry, romance) with women and 'serious' literature (epic, satire, history, science) with men, the intended audience for annuals was feminised, regardless of its actual readership.[124] This was a genre that was edited and largely authored by women in imitation of albums, a feminine handicraft; addressed to a chaste, domesticated readership of socialising women; dressed in fabric used for women's dresses; praised for its decorative appeal but simultaneously derided as trivial. In addition to their highly decorative appearance, role as lavish courtship gifts, and association with domesticity, there were many reasons for annuals to be associated with Regency and Victorian ideas of womanhood.

[57] Letitia Elizabeth Landon (1802–1838). *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book.* London: H. Fisher, R. Fisher, & P. Jackson, 1835.

Henry Fisher (1781–1837) came from a family of prominent copper engravers who had been making maps before he began supplying plates for early annuals, eventually starting his own series.[125] *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book* was edited by Letitia Elizabeth Landon, a well-known poet and novelist. Landon (better known to readers in her own day by her signature initials, 'L. E. L.') had been a published poet from the age of eighteen and increased her literary output in order to support her family after her father's death, when she was twenty-two. In the 1830s, Landon was a major editor of ladies' annuals, contributing more than 160 poems to various annuals, including the full text of *Heath's Book of Beauty* for 1833 and almost all of the verse for *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book* from 1832 to 1839. Unlike most other annuals, *Fisher's Scrap Book* exhibits unusual thematic cohesiveness and verges on becoming a single-author production.

THE LILY OF THE VALLEY.

V.

"I am proud to remember how, hour after hour,
Beneath me thy mind budded forth like a flower;
Till matured every talent, sublimed every thought,
And thy teacher valued cap to the boy he once taught.
But the eye that was bright it was mine to see dim,
Grey the once glossy lock—slumps the giant-like limb.
Thou hast sunk in the light that thy genius has shed,
And thy old master wails that Aquinas is dead."

VI.

Long the fathers at Lyons in council may wait,
Ere the chosen of the church shall alight at the gate;
Deep the shadow of sorrow o'er the college shall wheel,
When they know that the wisest lies low as the frail.
How vain is philosophy; long, as a chief
Of the wise, have I taught how unmanly is grief:
Idle lessons! they check not the tears that are shed
From those tome-stricken eyes, when Aquinas is dead.

WILLIAM MASSIE.

THE LILY OF THE VALLEY.

"A fair young face—yet saturnine in its youth—
Brooding above sad thoughts."

It is the last token of love and of thee!
Thy once faith is broken, thou false one to me.
I think on the letters with which I must part;
Too dear are the fetters which wind round my heart.

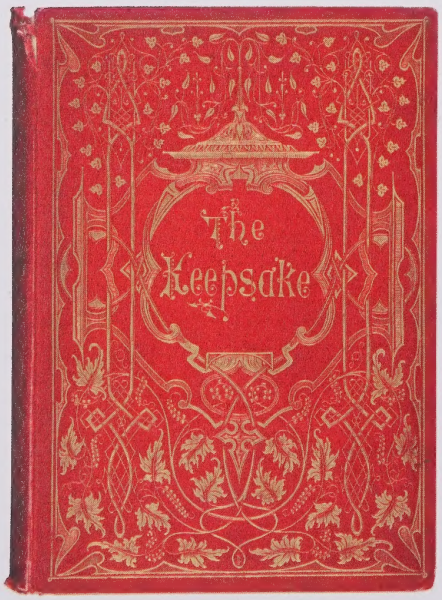
Thy words were enchanted, and ruled me at will;
My spirit is haunted, remembering them still.
So earnest, so tender—the full heart was there;
Ah! Song might surrender its late in despair.

I deemed that I knew thee as none ever knew;
That 'twas mine to sibylize thee, and thine to be true.
I deemed to my keeping thy memory had brought
The depths that were sleeping of innermost thought.

9

In format, *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book* typifies the literary annual in its imitation of ladies' albums: as the title of Fisher's series suggests, annuals were meant for social display in the 'drawing room' and combined poetry with profuse illustration after the manner of ladies' 'scrap books'. Annuals took advantage of a burgeoning middle-class market and technological advances to adopt the visuality of ladies' albums in print form: the use of durable steel as a surface for engravings allowed printers to make many more copies from a single plate than they had been able to do when using copper. As Vanessa Warne observes, the illustrations in annuals offered 'audiences an opportunity to view reproductions of privately owned and otherwise inaccessible works of art', at a time when material possession of original works of art remained the almost exclusive domain of the upper classes. Eleanor Jamieson concurs that the wide circulation of the country's finest artworks through steel engravings 'fostered in the general public an appreciation of painting never hitherto known'.[126] Annuals had outspoken detractors but, in some respects, they were portable galleries and democratised access to art.

[58–61] Marguerite Gardiner, Countess of Blessington (1789–1849). *The Keepsake*. London: Reynolds and Heath, 1831, 1836, 1848, 1849.



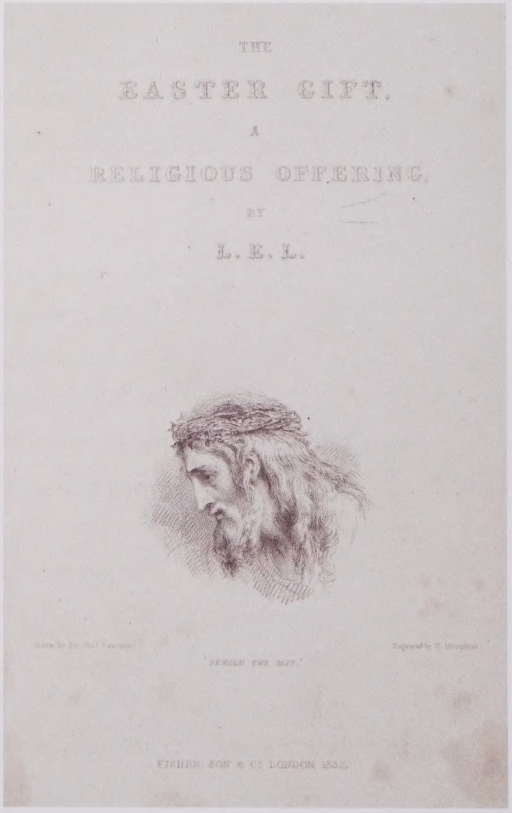
The longest-running and most commercially successful of the annuals, *The Keepsake* was edited by the Countess of Blessington, who used her wide social network as a means of eliciting contributions and providing patronage to protegées. Although the fashion for conspicuous literary consumption of annuals was famously parodied in novels such as *Vanity Fair* and *Middlemarch*, modern book historians frequently succumb to a vocabulary of admiration for *The Keepsake*, using adjectives such as 'gorgeous', 'sumptuous', and 'decadent' to describe it.[127] As its

name connotes, *The Keepsake* was designed to be a status gift worth keeping and featured an engraved presentation plate designed for inscriptions from the purchaser to the recipient. Paula Feldman reports that annuals 'were extraordinarily expensive', priced between eight shillings and a guinea, depending on the binding and the size and quality of the paper; she adds that they 'were crafted as beautifully as it was possible to make books in their day'.[128] Whether in the smaller octavo size, made for passing around, or in larger formats, they generally had edges finished in gilt. All bindings for annuals were highly decorative and expensive, in tooled leather, blocked cloth, or pictorial paper boards. Beginning in 1828, *The Keepsake* was issued in a crimson watered-silk binding, after its publishers, Frederick Mansel Reynolds (1800–1850) and Charles Heath (1785–1848), purchased an enormous stock of the fabric at an excellent price.[129] With its boards covered in a textile associated with the most formal mode of women's dress, *The Keepsake* flatteringly implied the recipient's elegant femininity. It was an ideal bourgeois love token. Moreover, it was a beautiful luxury object whose colour drew attention to itself in the social display area (parlor, drawing room) of a domestic space. These bindings have not proven to be durable but must have been spectacular at the time of issue.

Case 14: *Steel-Engraved Gift Books*

As the annuals declined in popularity, the gift book emerged in its place. These gift books strongly resembled annuals, with the text dominated by steel-engraved illustrations; the primary distinction is that gift books were not produced serially. Moreover, gift books tended to be much more cohesive than the annuals, typically organised around a central theme. As their name connotes, gift books were 'marketed like annuals as gifts for Christmas, birthdays and other anniversaries', to male purchasers and female readers.[130] For the most part, gift books were produced by the same publishers and authors as annuals, for the same audience and market.

[62] Letitia Elizabeth Landon. *The Easter Gift: A Religious Offering*. London: Fisher, 1832.



As a prominent figure in the production of annuals, Letitia Elizabeth Landon naturally found her way to the new gift-book format. As Jill Rappoport observes, 'Landon did not simply limit herself to "what was required by the market": she also courted the market, extended its sales possibilities, and often delivered more than her buyers expected, earning an income of at least £250 per year in the process'.

Material necessity and authorly ingenuity combined to make Landon entrepreneurial. Given their production for special occasions, it is not surprising that gift books of a religious nature were an important variation of the genre. *The Easter Gift*, Landon's only volume of religious poetry, is structured in much the same manner as her *Keepsakes* and other gift books.

[63] Letitia Elizabeth Landon. *The English Bijou Almanac for 1837.* London: Albert Schloss, 1837.

In their role as love tokens, ornamental décor, and social props, the physical qualities of gift books were at least as important as their subject matter. That object status is especially pronounced in miniature books such as *The English Bijou Almanac* series, which ran from 1835 to 1843. The *Bijou* is indeed presented as a jewel, enclosed with a clasp in a velvet- and silk-lined brown leather

case that serves as a miniscule treasure chest. As Laura Forsberg observes, turning the 'thin miniature pages and keeping the tightly bound volume open without blocking part of the text' poses a 'mechanical challenge' to anyone who attempts to read the minute book.[131] At 19 mm by 15 mm, this tiny book is very difficult to handle in its capacity as a readable object. Its value is in the exquisiteness of its finish and in the technological mastery of its production.

Nevertheless, rather coyly, the *Bijou* also asserts its status as a readable text. Most obviously, its presentation slipcase includes a magnifying glass, challenging the owner to pore through the pages. The work's genre also insists on frequent inspections: an almanac is conventionally meant to be a reference source of practical information. Although Letitia Landon's 1837 *Bijou* contains an abundance of illustration and poetry, it does indeed begin with the kind of tables, lists, and calendars that typify almanacs. Forsberg also remarks that the 'the presentation page offers a tiny blank space upon which the giver might inscribe the recipient's name in an act of micrographia', inviting 'readers to inscribe themselves into the world of the miniature'.[132] In so doing, the *Bijou* prompts a fantasy of its owner at the scale of a toy. Its charm lies in the possibility of reading it, despite the impracticalities of doing so: a promise of knowledge and entertainment in a format that prevents the exhaustion of that potential. Technically legible and practically unreadable, the *Bijou* exemplifies the commodity status of gift books.

[64] Letitia Elizabeth Landon, Marguerite Gardiner, Countess of Blessington, and Thomas Haynes Bayly (1797–1839). *Flowers of Loveliness*. London: J. Tallis, 1854.

Taking her cue from Letitia Landon's practice of filling annuals with her own verse, and building on her own success as editor of *The Keepsake*, the Countess of Blessington was the first contributor of a single-authored gift book organised around a coherent theme in the 1835 *Flowers of Loveliness*. Published by Ackermann & Co., the concept behind *Flowers of Loveliness* was to offer a heavily illustrated book organised around the contemporary obsession with the language of flowers, containing text by a different, single author every year. As Ann R. Hawkins observes, *Flowers of Loveliness* was remarkable for its high production values:

JOHN TALLIS & COMPANY LONDON EDINBURGH DUBLIN & NEW YORK

> A large folio measuring 38 cm x 28 cm—larger than even the generously sized *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrapbooks* (22.5 cm x 28.5 cm) —and bound in red gilt morocco, *Flowers* had offered purchasers a volume out of the ordinary. The design placed equal emphasis on the written word and the visual image by pairing a single text with a single engraving. The height of the volume in contrast with its thinness (it contained only 26 leaves of heavy paper) gave the impression of a sumptuously crafted volume, each page to be savored individually. Blessington's *Flowers*, then, offered its purchaser an unequalled opportunity for displaying wealth and class, and, by extension, that display increased the 'value' of the reader who received such an expensive and expensively produced volume as a gift. Blessington's *Flowers* volume found sufficient success to guarantee subsequent volumes by other poets (Thomas Haynes Bayly in 1837, and L.E.L. in 1838) [. . .][133]

Lorraine Janzen Kooistra observes that gift books were characterised by their decorative bindings, profuse illustrations, and suitability for display, rather than by seasonal content.[134] The format of *Flowers of Loveliness*, rather than its content, qualified it as a significant token of affection. In 1854, when the copy of *Flowers of Loveliness* on display was issued, the series was comparatively venerable. As the steel engraved gift books became old fashioned, experiments in chromolithography and wood engraving had begun to take their place, opening opportunities for women to take part in the creation of luxury books, rather than simply functioning as the recipients of ready-made commodities.

(ENDNOTES)

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2 For a fuller account of Jones's career, see Carol Flores, *Owen Jones: Design, Ornament, Architecture, and Theory in an Age in Transition* (New York: Rizzoli, 2006).

3 The first volume of *The Alhambra* was issued in ten parts to subscribers, so awareness of Jones's achievement spread well before the second volume was completed in 1845.

4 Owen Jones, *Grammar of Ornament*, p. 9.

5 Patricia Zakreski, 'Creative Industry: Design, Art Education and the Woman Professional', *Crafting the Woman Professional in the Long Nineteenth Century,* ed. Kyriaki Hadjiafxendi and Patricia Zakreski (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 151.

6 Nicholas Frankel, 'The Ecstasy of Decoration: *The Grammar of Ornament* as Embodied Experience', *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 2.1 (Winter 2003), [para. 2].

7 Patricia Zakreski, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–165; Lara Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Jo Devereux, 'The Evolution of Victorian Women's Art Education, 1858–1900: Access and Legitimacy in Women's Periodicals', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 50.4 (2017), pp. 752–768.

8 F. Graeme Chalmers, 'Fanny McIan and London's Female School of Design, 1842–57: "My Lords and Gentlemen, Your Obedient and Humble Servant"', *Woman's Art Journal* 16.2 (1995), pp. 3–9. Chalmers reports that 866 of the 2,088 Britons awarded a Master of Arts certificate between 1855 and 1898 were women.

9 Marie Korey reports that twenty-four parts were planned, originally, but that the series was reduced to thirteen parts because of poor sales. See *Elegant Editions: Aspects of Victorian Book Design*, (Toronto: Massey College at the University of Toronto, 1995), p. 45. See also, Beckwith, *Victorian Bibliomania: The Illuminated Book in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Providence: Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 1987), p. 31.

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12 *Ibid.*, 41.

13 Ellen Creathorne Clayton, 'Emma Cooper', *English Female Artists* (London: Tinsley, 1876), vol. II, pp. 264–270.

14 *Ibid.*, p. iii.

15 'Distinction Between Illumination and Painting', *Igdrasil: The Journal of the Ruskin Reading Guild*, ed. William Marwick, 3 (June 1891–March 1892), p. 19.

16 Christina Crosby, 'Reading the Gothic Revival: "History" and Hints on Household Taste', *Rewriting the Victorians: Theory, History and the Politics of Gender,* ed. Linda Shires (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 102.

17 The Victorian & Albert Museum copy of *The Alphabet of Wildflowers* (accession no. E.553-1949) is described online at: https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O597677/the-alphabet-of-wild-flowers-book-of-verse-lady-louisa-strange/ (30 June 2009; accessed 17 December 2022).

18 Louisa Mure, *Recollections of Bygone Days* (Privately printed, 1883).

19 *Ibid.*, p. 57.

20 The quotation from the prospectus of the Gentlewomen's Self Help Institute appears in E. Genna's *Irresponsible Philanthropists, Being, Some Chapters on the Employment of Gentlewomen* (London: Paul, 1881).

21 See 'Art. II. Gentlewomen and Self Help', *The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions:1870,* ed. Janet Horowitz Murray and Myra Stark (London: Routledge, 2018).

22 Elizabeth Cumming, 'Phoebe Traquair', *Concise Dictionary of Women Artists*, ed. Delia Gaze (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 662.

23 Stephen Ratcliffe, 'Cover Note', *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 74.2 (Winter 2013), pp. 263–270.

24 *Ibid.*, 267.

25 Ruari McLean, *Victorian Book Design and Colour Printing*, (London: Faber, 1963), p. 58.

26 Mrs. Hartley does not appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Simon Houfe's *Dictionary of British Book Illustrators and Caricaturists, 1800–1914: With Introductory Chapters on the Rise and Progress of the Art* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1978) or Ellen Creathorne Clayton's *English Female Artists* (London: Tinsley, 1876). A second illuminated edition of *The May Queen* with borders and lettering by L. Summerbell appeared in 1872 (London: Frederick Warne).

27 Lorraine Janzen Kooistra 'A Modern Poetry of Sensation: Three Christmas Gift Books and the Legacy of Victorian Material Culture', in *Media, Technology and Literature in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Colette Colligan and Margaret Linley (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), p. 108.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 94.

29 The Faithfull sisters also collaborated on an illuminated gift book called *38 Texts* (1872). See William Fredeman, 'Emily Faithfull and the Victoria Press: An Experiment in Sociological Bibliography', *The Library*, Fifth Series, XXIX.2 (June 1974), p. 159.

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31 Simon Houfe, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

32 Biographical details courtesy of Jolyon Hudson, *Catalogue 801: Women in Literature and Society*, (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2019), item 12.

33 See Lorraine Janzen Kooistra, 'Poetry in the Victorian Marketplace: The Illustrated *Princess* as Christmas Gift Book', *Victorian Poetry* 45.1 (Spring 2007), pp. 49–76.

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35 William Holman Hunt *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1905), vol. II, pp. 124–125.

36 Jo Devereux, 'The Evolution of Victorian Women's Art Education, 1858–1900: Access and Legitimacy in Women's Periodicals', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 50.4 (2017), p. 752.

37 Emily Faithfull, *Three Visits to America* (New York: Fowler & Wells, [1884]), pp. 26–27.

38 William Fredeman, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

39 Emily Faithfull, 'Woman's Work, with Special Reference to Industrial Employment', *Journal of the Society of Arts* 19 (18 November 1870), p. 378.

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45 Alastair Grieve, 'Rossetti's Applied Art Designs-2: Book-Bindings', *The Burlington Magazine* (February 1973), p. 79.

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Geranium